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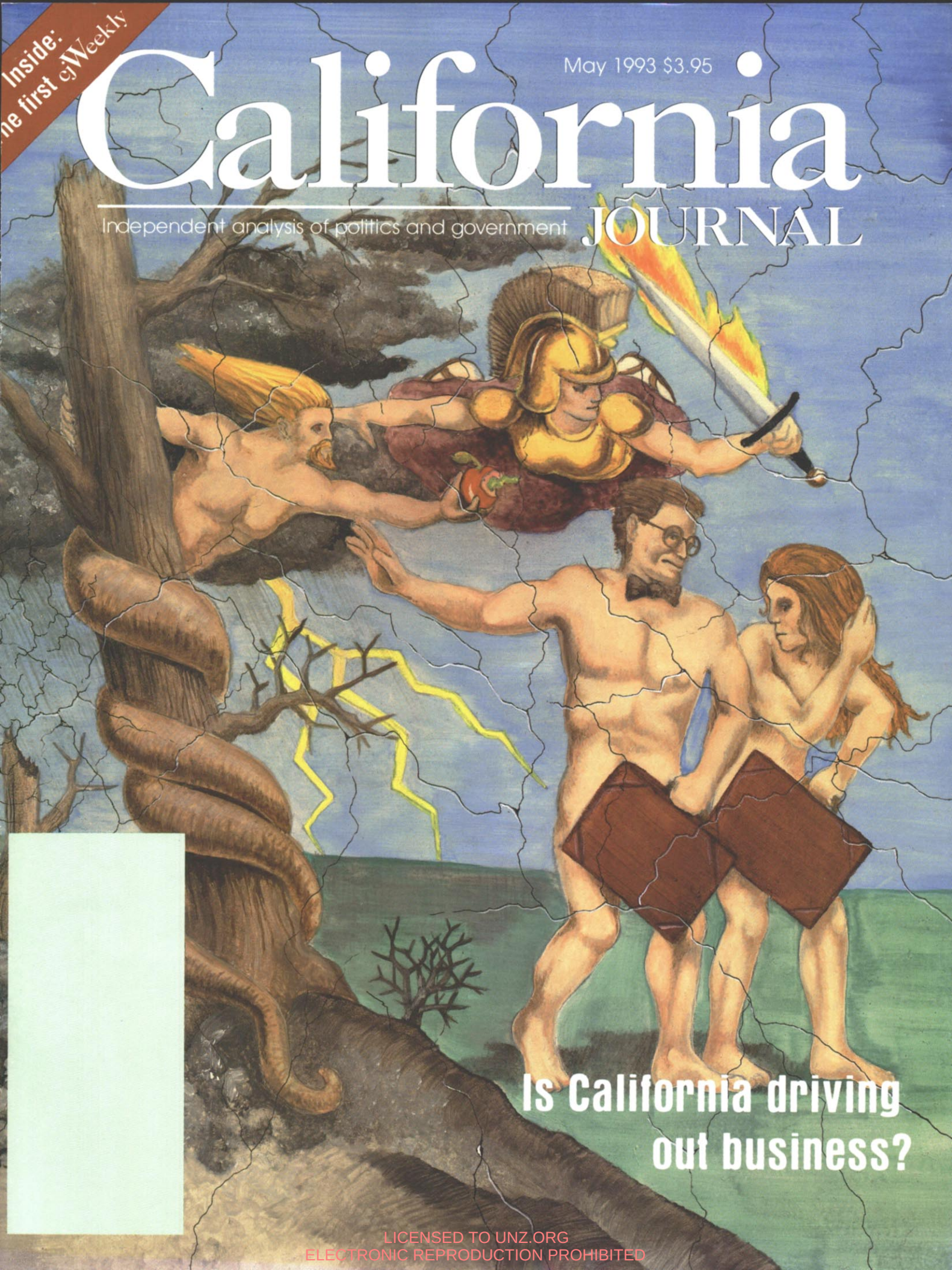
May 1993 $3.95

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government



Is California driving out business?

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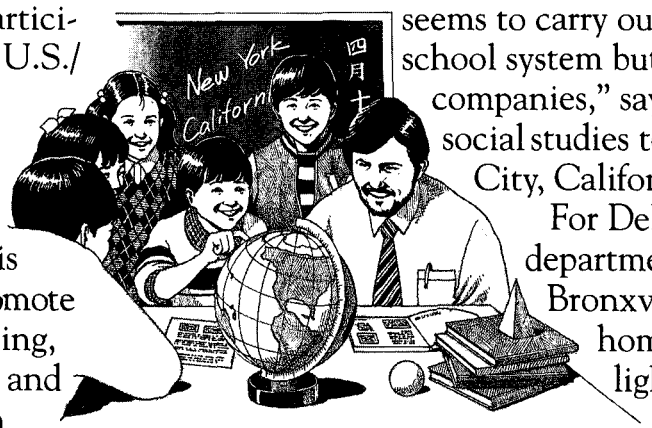
Japan and America: Where the Twain Meet

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," Kipling wrote long ago, and even today that saying sums up the feelings of many Americans and Japanese toward each other. But William Brinker, a high school social studies teacher from Farmington Hills, Michigan, disagrees. "The gulf between our cultures exists, but it can be bridged. We just have to work harder at understanding one another."

Brinker was a participant in the annual U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program sponsored by Hitachi. Now in its seventh year, this exchange helps promote mutual understanding, cultural awareness, and friendship between our societies on a personal level.



Since 1987, the program has sponsored the visits of 28 American teachers to Japan and 13 Japanese to the United States. This year is the largest exchange so far: four American and four Japanese teachers. For three weeks, they will tour the sites, teach children, and live in the homes of their hosts. For most, it is their first direct exposure to the culture they so often teach about. Even for Brinker, who had spent time in Japan 36 years ago as a serviceman, the experience was eye-opening. "I came away with a much better understanding of the Japanese people," he says.

As teachers, the American visitors are struck by the way Japanese parents support the school system and the respect students show in the classroom. "The support and love of the family seems to carry out not only in the school system but also into their companies," says Greg Alvarado, a social studies teacher from Daly City, California.

For Delia Grogan-Selby, a department chairperson from Bronxville, New York, the home stay was a highlight of her visit. "I felt like I had parachuted into my own family, but it was Japan," she says.

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program. We believe its positive impact will multiply as returning teachers share their personal experiences with students, colleagues, and friends at home.

For more information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

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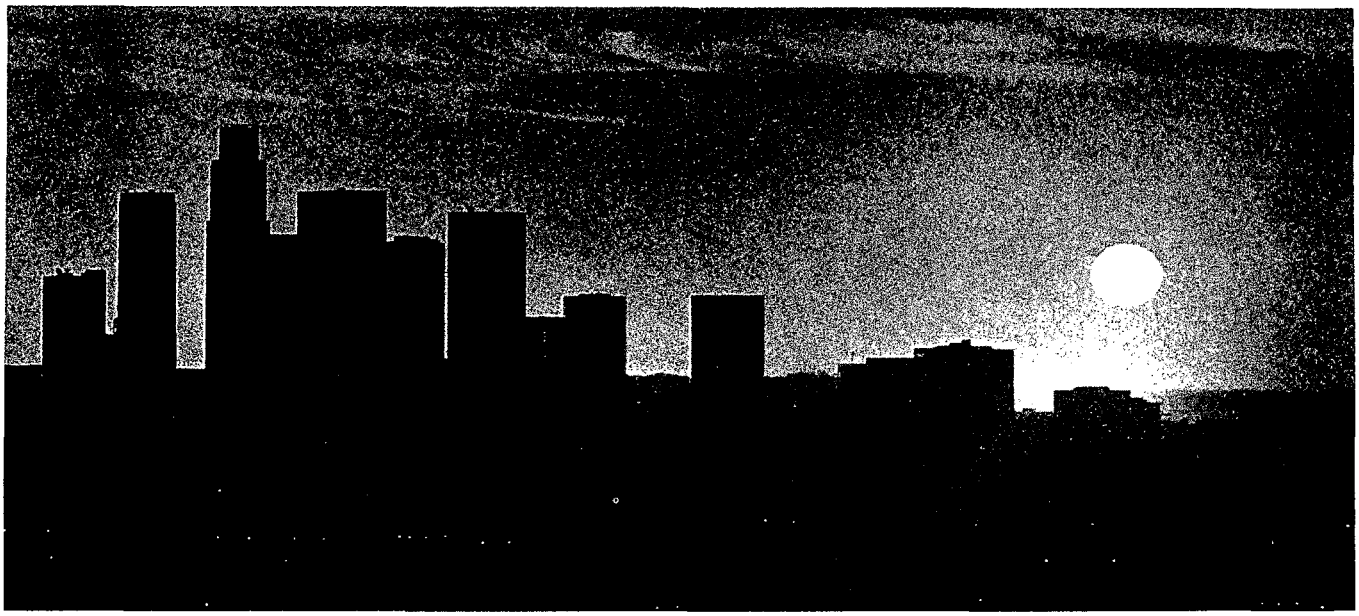

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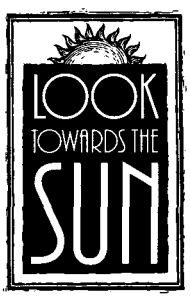

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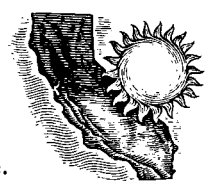

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MAY, 1993
VOLUME XXIV, NUMBER 5

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

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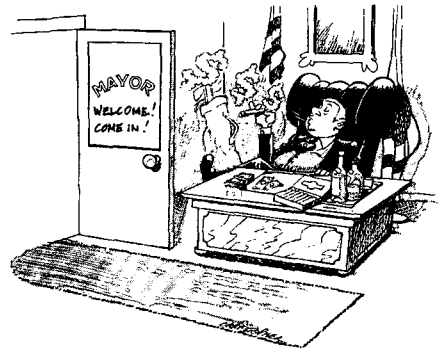

cjWeekly

California Journal *launches its new publication* — cjWeekly — *reported and written by the* Journal's *expanded editorial staff. cjWeekly has the feel of an insider's newsletter but the impact of a magazine as it provides in-depth coverage and analysis from committee hearings, floors of the Legislature and the governor's office. It also provides a weekly personality profile and tantalizing gossip and tidbits from the Capitol's halls. The inaugural issue, presented in this month's* Journal, *contains, among other stories, a preview of the opening round of the John Garamendi-Kathleen Brown gubernatorial showdown, a look at Marian Bergeson's support for Chris Whittle's controversial Channel One, a profile of embattled Republican Assemblyman Paul Horcher, and a wrap-up of recent special elections.*

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Cover illustration by Pierre Babasin

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UP FRONT

Ridin' shotgun. Democratic state Senator Teresa Hughes of Inglewood no longer makes the rounds of her district alone. As of last month, Hughes, who last year moved from the Assembly to the Senate, will be accompanied by an off-duty Los Angeles police officer — at taxpayers' expense, of course. Hughes — who represents the cities of Hawthorne, Inglewood, Gardena, Lynwood and part of Compton — said she needed protection because she feared becoming a crime victim. Too bad the rest of her contituents aren't afforded the same extra safeguard. Does anyone else find it astounding that a member of the Legislature no longer wants to venture out alone in her own district?

Pros at work. Like any political confab these days, the recent Democratic state convention had its share of show-biz types. But the Dems went a step further; they publicly acknowledged the Hollygooders for their activism in '92. Faces in the crowd were Dana Delaney ("China Beach"), Shelly Hack ("Charlie's Angels"), Linda Lavin ("Alice"), and Richard Masur (uh, lots of stuff). Lavin introduced them at a Saturday morning breakfast as "members of my profession — celebrities..." Professional celebrities? We thought you had to be a guest on "Hollywood Squares" to qualify for that title.

What's in a name? Before the Democrats' new chairman — Los Angeles television commentator Bill Press — could take the helm during the party's convention, some of his folks had a run-in with the, uh, press folks. Seems a gaggle of his minions tried to commandeer the press room for their candidate's headquarters. Hey, the sign outside the door said "PRESS," didn't it?

Heresy, GOP style. As it stands, it takes a two-thirds "super-majority" for voters to approve most local bond issues, or to raise local taxes. It also takes a two-thirds majority of each house of the Legislature to pass, among other things, the state budget. It would take a two-thirds majority to alter the 1978 property-tax slashing Proposition 13. Over the years, the staunchest defenders of the super-majority have been conservative Republicans. Well, guess whose ox was gored on a minor matter involving the South Coast Air Quality Management District? Seems some conservative GOP legislators and some business folks in Orange County want to oust Henry Wedaa, their county's rep on the district board. To do that, however, two-thirds of Orange County's cities have to agree. And Wedaa's foes can't get the super-majority. So, a pair of the Legislature's most rock-hard conservatives — Senator John Lewis of Orange and Assemblyman Curt Pringle of Garden Grove — have slipped a little bill into the mix (SB 123) that would require only a simple majority to do the deed.

"It's an anti-democratic way of looking at things," huffed Lewis staffer Matthew Cunningham of the current process.

So, is it also undemocratic to hold the budget hostage to a two-thirds vote? Seems *somebody* wants it both ways.

'Scuse us? Last year, when Republican state Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield bailed out of the 16th Senate District midway through his term to run in the 17th District, some folks said he made a smart choice. After all, the 16th undergoes a radical change in '94 when reapportionment kicks in for even-numbered Senate districts (it kicked in for odd-numbered ones in '92). The old 16th leans toward the GOP, but voter registration in the soon-to-be 16th heavily favors Democrats. Rogers, figuring he might not be able to hold his job in the 16th, bolted and was elected in the new, GOP-friendly 17th. His defection, however, caused a special election in the old 16th to fill the two years remaining in his term. In that election, the Republican standard is being carried by former Assemblyman Phil Wyman of Tehachapi. His Democratic opponent is Assemblyman Jim Costa of Fresno. The conventional wisdom says that Wyman may be able to defeat Costa in the *old* 16th, but no way he holds the seat next year in the *new* 16th.

Not so, argues Rogers' aide Don Plag. It may be an uphill battle, says he, but there's no reason Wyman can't hold the seat in 1994. Plag called Wyman a "moderate Republican" who just might appeal to all those conservative Democrats and independent voters who dot the district.

First of all, Phil Wyman is a "moderate" Republican only if the only other Republican in the universe is Jesse Helms. And second, if the Rogers folks are so sanguine about a Republican being able to hold onto the 16th District come 1994, why did the conservative Rogers, who likes to crow that he's never voted for a spending bill during his 15 years in the Legislature, bail out and force his former constituents to spend — spend, mind you — for a special election? Are the Rogers people really saying that Phil Wyman has more guts than Don Rogers?

"[Constituents] wishes ought to have great weight with [their elected representative]. ...It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions, to theirs — and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own."

— Edmund Burke

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smartalecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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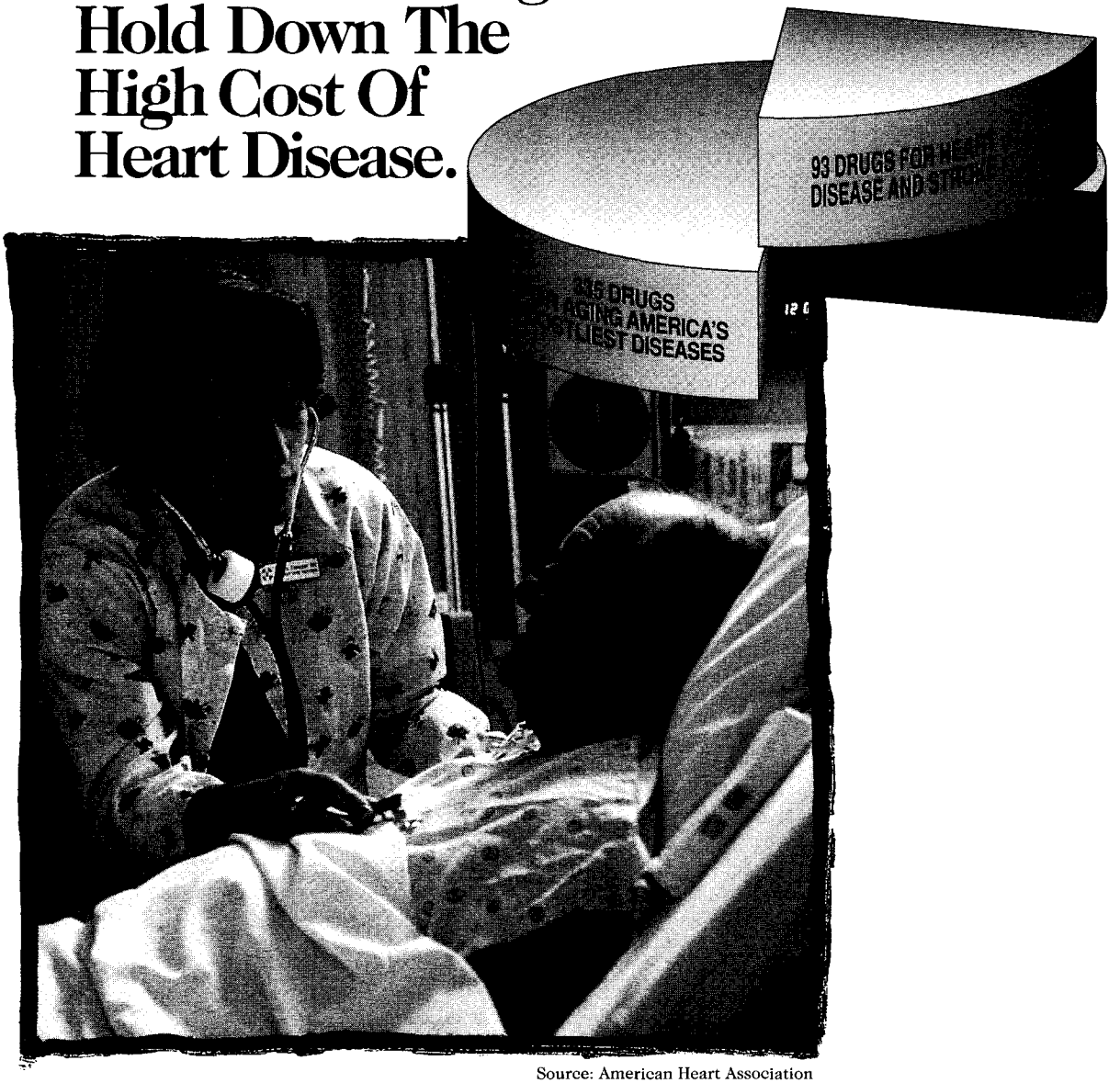
A Report On Pharmaceuticals

What We're Doing To Hold Down The High Cost Of Heart Disease.



Source: American Heart Association

Heart disease and stroke are estimated to cost America over $100 billion a year.

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Is California driving business out of the state?

By Mary Beth Barber

FOR MORE THAN A century, California has been the state where dreams were made. Some dreams were grand: striking it rich in the Sierra Nevada gold fields or on Hollywood's silver screen. Most were modest: a steady job, a house in the suburbs with a patch of lawn and two cars in the garage.

But California's golden sheen has tarnished in recent years. The economic giant that snickered at the economic slides of less-favored parts of the nation has had its comeuppance. And, as the saying goes. The bigger they are, the harder they fall.

Construction, once a booming industry, has declined as residents refuse to chance buying a home during bad economic times. Aerospace manufacturers, who got rich during the defense build-ups of the Reagan years, have been forced to change with the end of the Cold War and downsize or develop new products. Small businesses surrounding closed or soon-to-be-closed military installations are struggling to gain customers. And large manufacturing companies have been expanding or moving to other states.

Word in business circles: Unload California.

Question from state officials: Why?

California has never been a state to directly woo business. It never had to. Government spending during World War II, particularly in the aircraft and ship-building industries, abounded in the state. After World War II, Northern California was the birthplace of the computer industry; Southern California supplied

illustration by Pierre Babasin

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entertainment for the populace and high-tech weaponry for the federal government. The education system, universities, highly trained workforce, large markets and high quality of life created a situation where California didn't come looking for business —business came looking for California.

"For years we took the Club Med approach of 'You're lucky we let you on the trip,'" said state Controller Gray Davis at a seminar at the University of California, Davis.

Despite that attitude, many companies still chose to start and grow here. Now, however, some businesses are choosing to move or expand elsewhere, such as the silicon-chip manufacturing giant Intel. New Mexico is home to a new Intel manufacturing facility that will employ 1000 people. "What's changed," said Intel spokesman Richard Hall, "is that California has become less competitive while other states have become more competitive."

Business groups and politicians say the Intel experience is typical of what is happening in California. The state's problems are just so great, and most businesses don't want to face them. The state has layered regulation on top of regulation. The cost of wages remains high, but the quality of workers has dropped. The workers compensation system is a mess. And other states are more than willing to offer incentives to new businesses. New Mexico, for example, offered Intel $114 million in tax incentives and job-training funds. Firms that have the choice simply find it cheaper to operate elsewhere.

Governor Pete Wilson, business groups and some politicians citing the negative business climate say the state is losing jobs hand-over-fist. They are using the claim to justify an array of pro-business changes in state law that include everything from easing environmental regulations to granting tax breaks to companies. Faced with high unemployment, the budget crisis and the recession, politicians from both parties have acknowledged that the state has to do something.

The first question that needs to be asked, however, is whether jobs are actually leaving the state or whether California is experiencing a natural economic downswing felt in the rest of the country during the middle and late 1980s. According to a December 1991 study released by the Center for Continuing Study of the California Economy, a Palo Alto-based group, the state's job losses have been caused by the recession and not by a business exodus to other states. Other experts agree.

"No more than 5 to 10 percent of job losses in this state have been due to out-migration of business," said Tapan Munroe, chief economist for Pacific Gas and Electric, to the California Economic Summit organized by Speaker Willie Brown and held in Los Angeles this past February.

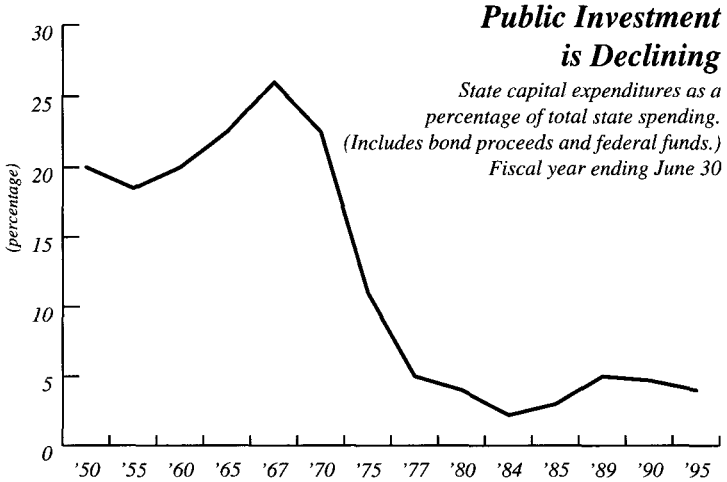
But an analysis based on the "California Migration Study," conducted by California's largest utilities, indicates that California's manufacturing industry has decreased. The study said that 708 manufacturing plants relocated or chose to expand outside of California between 1987 and 1992, taking with them 107,000 jobs. Furthermore, an even larger number of manufacturing jobs simply disappeared as businesses closed or cut back during the recession. Similar jobs have not replaced the lost ones. Manufacturing jobs in the state — as a percentage of the total workforce — decreased between 1979 and 1989, said California Manufacturers Association spokesman Bill George.

Instead, most of the jobs are being replaced by service-oriented industries, positions that don't pay workers nearly as well. According to the utilities' industry migration study, "Seventy-three percent of manufacturing job losses are in industries with wages above the average for California's total private sector employment." Many of the low-wage manufacturing jobs were lost to Mexico; the other losses were the result of defense cutbacks and out-of-state migration.

The downsizing of the aerospace industry, one of the largest manufacturing employers in Southern California, is beginning to look even worse than previously imagined. Companies that have to shrink are faced with tough decisions about where to consolidate. Hughes Aircraft announced in March that it will move its engineering facilities from Canoga Park to Tucson. California's negative business climate and government's inability to solve problems were factors in the decision. Northrop. may be in a similar situation in the near future, said corporate vice president Marvin Elkin.

All is not gloom-and-doom, however. Barry Sedlik, a manager with Southern California Edison and principal co-author of the utilities' migration study, explained at the UC Davis seminar that some manufacturing sectors could prove to be profitable for the state, especially for Southern California. The electric vehicle, rail car and apparel industries could flourish in the Los Angeles area, he said.

While there is room for other industries to move into California, it will take time and capital for them to grow. Optimists believe the engineers and manufacturing employees that were once aerospace workers can switch their expertise to ground trans-



Public Investment is Declining

State capital expenditures as a percentage of total state spending. (Includes bond proceeds and federal funds.) Fiscal year ending June 30

Source: California Council for Economic and Environmental Balance

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portation. Some of the skills cross-apply, but expecting all displaced aerospace workers to find employment in these new fields is unrealistic, according to the Economic Roundtable of Southern California. The organization found that the aerospace workers wishing to work on rail-car manufacturing would experience a loss of wages, and this industry can't possibly take up all the slack. Electric cars could become a viable alternative, but the industry is as yet too young.

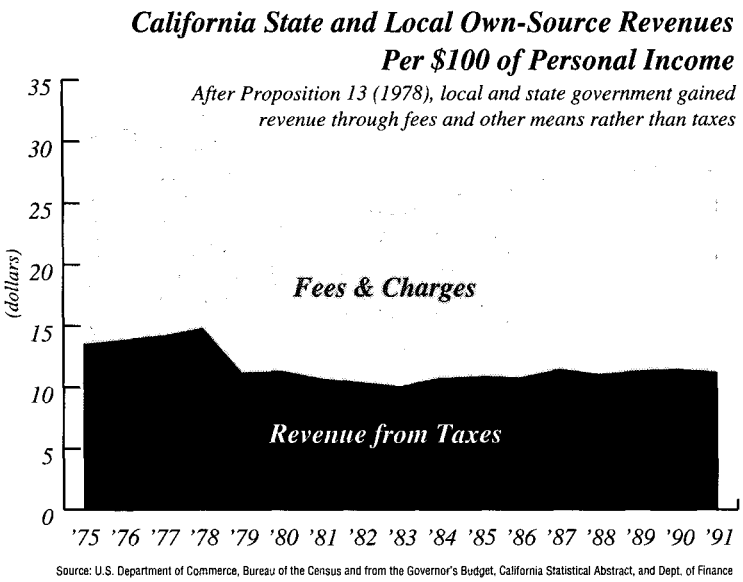
The answer right now is to maintain current industries in the state and attract businesses from elsewhere. Many companies don't even consider California as a place to start or expand, and California must take steps to change that attitude. Without industries to replace the high-paying manufacturing jobs, California may be stuck in this recession for years to come.

But knowing just what businesses want from the state, and finding the capacity to provide it, turns out to be a tricky proposition.

Companies that responded to the utilities' study cited labor, worker's compensation costs, taxes and other economic disincentives as major factors for leaving the state. Environmental regulations also pose a significant problem — not the standards themselves, but the manner in which they are handled by the myriad of state and local agencies.Even when businesses want to cooperate, they find the maze of regulations almost impossible to satisfy.

Most businesses have no problems with high standards, said Elkin. After all, their employees have to breathe the air and drink the water, too. But when a simple change to their operations must be reviewed by a half-dozen agencies and takes months to complete, other states' more simple regulations seem a lot more appealing.

Worker's compensation is another area where the grass looks greener on the other side of the state line. Just about every other state has problems with the workers compensation system, but none seem as apparent as California's. Businesses here pay among the highest insurance premiums, but injured workers receive the lowest awards. While larger businesses see this only as a minor problem — most are self-insured — small business claims the high rates are crushing them.


California State and Local Own-Source Revenues
Per $100 of Personal Income
After Proposition 13 (1978), local and state government gained revenue through fees and other means rather than taxes
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
(dollars)
Fees & Charges
Revenue from Taxes
'75 '76 '77 '78 '79 '80 '81 '82 '83 '84 '85 '86 '87 '88 '89 '90 '91
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census and from the Governor's Budget, California Statistical Abstract, and Dept. of Finance

The state's problems aren't necessarily new but have become more apparent during the bad economic times. The '80s were good to business in California, said CMA's George, and few companies or groups paid attention to minor rises in worker's compensation rates or new regulations. Now that times are bad, what used to be minor costs add up and may be the difference between being in the red or the black.

Part of the blame can be placed on the Legislature, George continued. Industry wasn't looking closely enough when Sacramento got caught up in what he calls the "good-idea movement." One legislator would have a good idea and pass a law, often with industry's approval. "Then other legislators would expand on that idea," he said, and create a myriad of regulations that ultimately did more harm then good, such as gross over-regulation and a worker's compensation system that "is way too liberal."

"A lot of it is the business community's fault," said George. "They signed off. When companies are making money, worker's compensation costs and fees are no big deal."

With re-election around the corner and the state's economy showing no signs of recovery, Wilson has made the courting of business a top priority. Julie Meier Wright, secretary of the Trade and Commerce Agency, said that worker's compensation reform should be a top priority, along with changing the law to make it more difficult to sue business for things such as product liability questions. Businesses find themselves faced with endless delays because of lawsuits brought on by special-interest groups, she said. "Quite often a lawsuit doesn't have to be viable, it just has to be enough to delay the project, which is of course winning."

The proposed low-level radioactive waste facility in the Mojave Desert area of Ward Valley is a key example of a project delay from lawsuits. The state, under federal regulations, was required to have a working facility by the beginning of this year. That deadline has come and gone, and construction on the facility hasn't even begun because of a series of lawsuits dealing with the permit process, public hearings and the Endangered Species Act. Bio-tech firms may move to other states such as Nevada that have such disposal facilities, said Wilson spokeswoman Kassy Perry.

Regulatory reform has been one of Wilson's top priorities since coming into office in 1991. One of his first moves as governor was to create the California Environmental Protection Agency, an umbrella agency that oversees many of the departments that issue permits. Led by Secretary James Strock, previously the head of enforcement for the federal EPA, Cal/EPA set out to streamline the regulatory process without interfering with California's long tradition of high standards.

"There has been a myth perpetuated in California that somehow high standards require a long permitting process," said Strock. "That's not written in stone."

Environmentalists, however, charge that Cal/EPA has overlooked essential

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There has been a myth perpetuated in California that somehow high standards require a long permitting process. That's not written in stone.

— James Strock

environmental protection in its efforts to make things easier for business. Strock flatly denied the allegations. "The fundamental goal of the agency is for the environment," he said.

The environmentalists are right on one point, however. Strock said that he has met industry representatives who claim to be complaining about the large number of permits mandated, when they are really challenging the standards set by the Legislature. "We stay out of arguments that are misleading," said Strock.

Some businesses don't see Cal/EPA helping unburden the regulatory process, however. "There's just another layer of bureaucracy that has been created," said one industry leader. Unlike the single-agency federal EPA, Cal/EPA is an umbrella agency overseeing many boards and departments. All permits must go to the separate boards *and* to Cal/EPA now. "To their credit, I think they are trying," he said of the agency.

While many business interests point to particular parts of state and local government as the problem, the California Council for Economic and Environmental Balance (CCEEB), a group financed primarily by the state's large industries, says the problems are more fundamental to how the state runs itself now versus 20 years ago. California has ceased to spend money on itself, said CCEEB Vice President Lisa Bicker. "For the past 20 years, we have been living off the investments we made twenty years ago," she said.

The incredible success during the '60s and '70s was a direct result of the investments the state made, especially at the local level. But when Proposition 13 — the initiative that capped property taxes — took effect in 1978, local governments lost a means of gaining revenue. Compounding the problem was a provision in the initiative that required a two-thirds vote for local bond measures rather than a simple majority, making bond measures almost impossible to approve. "Prop 13 took away the ability for local governments to tax themselves, to generate revenue for themselves," said Bicker. The result has been a dramatic decrease in investment spending on the local level.

The state also has spent less on investment in recent years. State capital expenditures plummeted from 25 percent of the total state budget in the early '70s to less than 5 percent by

Year of action?

Davis

Brown

If last year was "the year of the study," then this year could be "the year something gets done." That, at least seems to be the motto around the Capitol these days when it comes to the state's business climate. Two studies released last year — one from a group appointed by Governor Pete Wilson and one from the Assembly Democrats — agreed more than two-thirds of the time on what steps need to be taken to bring California out of its slump. Economic incentive packages have been presented from both sides of the political aisle as a result.

Wilson's study is from the Council on California Competitiveness, better known as the Ueberroth Report because former baseball commissioner and Olympics czar Peter Ueberroth, chaired the group of business leaders and leader representatives. The report recommended overhauling the worker's compensation system and limiting job-stress claims; eliminating some of the regulatory overlap and time delays associated with environmental permits; providing tax incentives for new companies in the state; and changing and improving the state's education system.

Assembly Democrats' study was called the ADEPT report, from the Assembly Democratic Economic Prosperity Team, led by veteran San Jose Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, who is also chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. It also recommends reforms in the areas of workers compensation, regulatory overlap, tax incentives, and education. While not as extreme as the Ueberroth Report in some areas, such with workers compensation stress claims, the two reports made many of the same overall recommendations.

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1980 (see chart, page 11). Both state and local revenues dropped approximately 20 percent between 1978 and 1979 when Proposition 13 went into effect. And the state has been giving local governments less and less. In order to make up for these differences, local governments either had to cut programs or figure out alternative ways to gain revenue, mostly by fees. Water, sewage and garbage fees are commonplace now, as are fees for capital improvements such as sidewalks.

Overall, investment in California has decreased. The state needs new roads, sewers, schools, public transportation systems and water projects — as well as social investments such as education and child care. "We need to invest in both social and physical projects to really do anything," said Bicker.

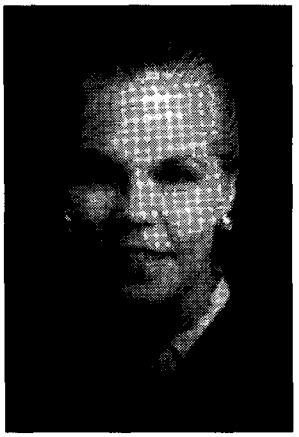
Investment in the state's infrastructure affects the general business climate. Intel spokesman Richard Hall said that California local governments and communities in Northern California were the best to their company compared to local governments in other states. Companies, especially high-tech ones, want quality education and an educated workforce. The university system is still one of the best in the world, but recent cuts may affect the quality of research and education in the future.

Education in general looks very bleak in the state. "Whether we like it or not, there are statistics that show that children don't have a classroom to go to," said Bicker.

Other states have been able to offer these things that California used to have a monopoly on — such as high educational standards, good roads and highways, and a general high quality of life — for a fraction of the cost.

One solution is an infrastructure bank, a structure that would provide a mechanism for the state to control growth while supporting business. The bank would provide low-interest loans for construction companies that complied with state growth-management policies; companies would get a break by building plants or homes in just the right place. Companies could choose to build elsewhere, but few would, contended Bicker. "Nobody has any money, and they're not going to build without the loans."

The idea has been supported by CCEEB, environmentalists and two studies produced by the state. But



Businesses find themselves faced with endless delays because of lawsuits brought on by special-interest groups. Quite often a lawsuit doesn't have to be viable, it just has to be enough to delay the project, which is of course winning.

— Julie Meier Wright

Once it was confirmed that yes, the Legislature was going to have to take some steps to improve the state's economic climate, a slew of legislators — mostly Republicans — introduced parts of business groups' legislative packages. A set of small-business incentives has been sponsored by the newly created Trade and Commerce Agency. The California Chamber of Commerce has outlined a set of bills favorable to the organization, including tax incentives, an overhaul the workers compensation system, and relief for businesses from over-regulation. And the CCEEB — the California Council for Economic and Environmental Balance — has sponsored a series of bill designed to improve the state's infrastructure.

But probably the biggest anomaly in the long list of bills is a piece of legislation sponsored by the California Manufacturers' Association and introduced by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. The bill (AB 1313) would eliminate the sales tax on the purchase of new manufacturing equipment. The majority of other states allow at least a partial tax credit to manufacturer for new research and development or environmental equipment, said CMA president Bill Campbell, but California doesn't. Brown introduced his bill after receiving ideas at the Economic Summit in Los Angeles last February. Even though the state could stand to lose up to $600 million during the first year, the bill will pay off in job creation and additional income taxes, contended Brown.

State Controller Gray Davis, while agreeing with Brown and others that more incentives are needed to attract business to the state, doesn't think that California should provide tax breaks without some sort of guaranteed return. Instead, there should be a contract that requires employers to create jobs for tax credits. "The contract brings an element of certainty to all parties," states an analysis from Davis. "Both the public and private sector have obligations and rewards."

— Mary Beth Barber

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providing loans and tax incentives to business can be expensive for California, especially in light of last year's budget crisis. The state is caught in a financial Catch-22. Government collects less money in tax revenues when the economy sags, but needs money to create incentives for business to get the state on its feet again. Alternatives are few, but the most obvious is a general, temporary tax such as the sales-tax increase last year.

Wilson vehemently opposes the extension, and few industry groups will outright endorse it. But the sentiment in the business community is not against it either. Bill Campbell, a former state senator who now serves as president of CMA, said that if business tax incentives cost the state too much money, an increase on the general sales tax could be a viable alternative, if absolutely necessary. Allen Zaremberg of the California Chamber of Commerce pointed to a Chamber poll showing that small businesses were affected little by the one-half cent sales tax in 1992. Only 17 percent said that the tax hurt their business. Neither organization has officially endorsed or opposed the sales-tax increase extension.

Things aren't all bleak for California. The Legislature seems to have gotten the message that the state needs to attract business. Reports published last year from both the Republicans and Democrats agreed on how to improve the state's business climate. There are signs that some bills will receive bipartisan agreement as Democrats carry bills for business groups — including Speaker Willie Brown for the California Manufacturing Association.

Workers compensation is a hot topic for legislators, and one industry spokesman was confident that some reform may take place this year. Assembly Democrat Steve Peace from Chula Vista, chairman of the Finance and Insurance Committee, proposed an all-encompassing workers compensation bill (AB 110). The bill is sponsored by the committee rather than one legislator in the hopes of receiving bipartisan support.

The state also has taken some steps. Los Angeles has a "one-stop shop" for small business permits to help rebuild the city after last year's riots. Cal/EPA officials are looking for other areas of the state to begin similar pilot projects. The Trade and Commerce Agency has set up "Red Teams" to help attract businesses to California. State and local government officials put together incentive packages to attract both large and small businesses, said a spokesman.

California has some inherent advantages. The quality of life is still very high. The state's location on the Pacific rim is ideal for exporters. California's higher education attracts scientists and academics from all over the world. And the state is an attractive place to live for foreign investors or multi-cultural companies because of its ethnic diversity, said Intel spokesman Hall. "If the state Legislature follows through from both sides, California could be on very competitive footing once again," Hall said.

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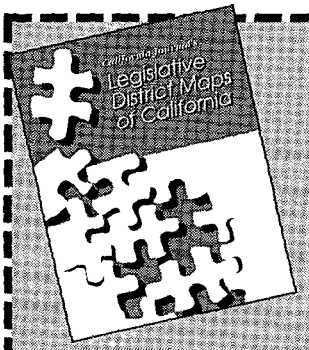

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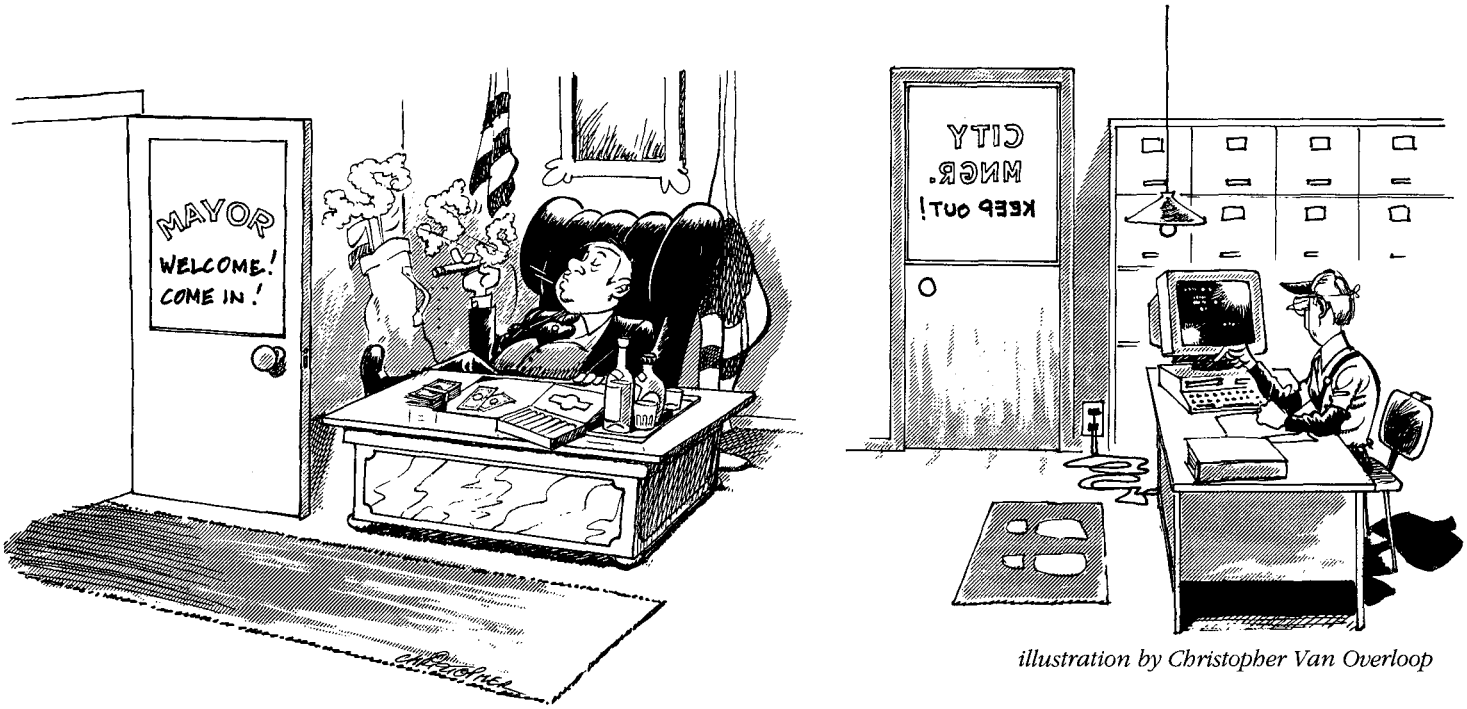

illustration by Christopher Van Overloop

OUT OF THE SANDBOX

Sacramento city politics may go big-time

By Ed Goldman

"SANDBOX POLITICS" is how one local newspaper used to characterize municipal doings in Sacramento. For, despite the town's status-by-proxy (or, more appropriately, by-proximity) as California's capital city, journalists found it difficult to take seriously the day-to-day decision-making of its part-time City Council.

That may be about to change. With the election last year of Joe Serna Jr. as mayor, and the recent retirement of City Manager Walter Slipe after a remarkable (for this line of work) 17-year tenure, a movement is afoot to create a full-time mayor/council government. Under one system being discussed, the manager — the professional administrator appointed by the City Council and currently given near-autonomous authority to fill roughly 200 Civil Service-exempt positions — - would cede a good deal of real and perceived policy-making power to the mayor. If that happens, some observers are saying, it may embolden other mid-size California cities to take a second look at their own versions of the traditional council/manager form of government.

Which is not to say that the proposed switch, which would require that Sacramento's more than 70-year-old city charter be amended, is anywhere near a done deal. Local voters have resisted at least three different attempts to alter the charter to even grant councilmembers a pay raise. They earn $20 per meeting; given the expansive nature of most of their meetings — particularly if land-use, high-rise development or neighborhood issues dominate that week's agenda — this works out to about 25 cents an hour. Factor in the average 25 hours per week that members spend in their city hall offices responding to constituent calls, letters and drop-ins, and you have a pretty strong argument for the IRS to consider the holding of this elective office as a charitable contribution.

"This city has grown so much in the past 20 years alone," Slipe said a few days before his retirement, "that it's ridiculous to expect people with full-time jobs to also handle full-time city council responsibilities." Slipe supports the notion of a full-time mayor and City Council; he is less sanguine about the notion of a "strong" mayor system, wherein the elected official also serves as the chief executive, relegating the manager's role to that of fiscal policeman.

"The council/manager form of government came into being as a direct response to corruption and cronyism" in the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, Slipe said. "When people tell me they support a strong mayor/weak manager form of government, I say, 'So you're in favor of the way [the late Mayor] Richard [J.] Daley ran Chicago? Swell!' Then they say, 'Wait a minute. Is that what would happen?'"

Mayor Serna dismisses Slipe's fears.

"There's just as much opportunity for corruption and cronyism under a strong manager/weak mayor [system] as there is the other way around," Serna argues. "But if he wants to say that, then I'll just point to the way Robert Moses ran the city of New York, practically unchallenged, and say, 'Oh, this is what you want? A professional bureaucrat making all of the decisions for the elected officials?'" (Moses, the late public works director of New York, was the subject of Robert Caro's Pulitzer Prize-winning biography, "The Power Broker.")

Serna and Slipe both think that Richard Daley and Robert Moses

Ed Goldman, who once worked for Walter Slipe, now is a Sacramento-based writer and consultant.

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achieved great things for their respective cities. In fact, says Slipe's successor, William Edgar, "I really don't think that Joe and Walt are far apart on this issue. It's just a matter of degrees." Of what? "Power."

Serna is a longtime political science professor at California State University, Sacramento, a frequent campaign manager for Democratic candidates, and a highly respected community activist who won the mayor's seat outright during the primaries. "I think that if people elect you to represent them, and then you're not given the power to hire and fire people, to make essential decisions or to implement policies, it shows a certain disrespect for the voters," he insists. "It says, 'You're not smart enough to choose your own representatives. We'd better bring in some professionals to get the job done.'

"The way things are right now, elected officials in this city have all the accountability but none of the responsibility. If we had a situation like Los Angeles had, where the mayor [Tom Bradley] clearly wanted to fire his police chief [Darryl Gates], well, hell, I couldn't fire the chief. Only the city manager, who hired him, could. But who do you think the voters are going to blame when they go to the polls? The city manager? Of course not. They'll blame their mayor."

Serna says the ballot box is the built-in control mechanism in a full-time mayor/council form of government. "The voters tell you just what they think every four years," he says, "and they can throw you out."

Told this, Sacramento's new city manager Edgar smiles. "That may be true," he says, "but as city manager, I run for re-election every Tuesday night [when the council meets]."

In Sacramento, as in most similarly crafted city governments, it's one vote easier to seat a city manager than to sack one: five of the nine councilmembers must approve the hiring; six the firing. Which means, Serna says, "To suggest that a city manager doesn't constantly count votes is naive at best. A good city manager is a good politician. He has to be. The city manager has to make sure he never gets six people mad at him at the same time. In all the years I've been on the City Council [since 1981], there's never been a vote of no-confidence in Walter Slipe. He's done a magnificent job here, there's no doubt of it. But he's also been intensely political."

Walter Slipe by Rich Pedroncelli

As might be expected in a city that plays host to the Legislature, local elected officials tend to monitor what's going on under the Capitol dome a few short blocks from city hall, not unlike the way a younger sibling might look up to his or her elder. "People who come on this council are, generally, pretty ambitious," Serna says. "They care about their community but they also know they have a pretty good base of operations for [launching a career in] politics."

In fact, since the late 1970s Sacramento councilmembers have run successfully for Congress (Democrat Robert Matsui); Assembly (Democrats Phil Isenberg and Lloyd Connelly); and Sacramento County Board of Supervisors (Grantland Johnson).

"One of the problems I have with the city going toward a 'strong' mayor system," Slipe says, "is that some of our [elected] folks look at the Legislature and view that as their model of how good government should operate — with two houses, a speaker, a president pro tem ... the Legislature shouldn't be anybody's model on how to get things done." Edgar agrees.

In conversations with city government watchers and players, one recurring threshold for determining a municipality's format seemed to be size, although there was an acknowledgment that things are changing, at least attitudinally, in local government.

"I think the threats to the city manager/city council form of government are mostly hitting more urbanized, metropolitan areas," says John Thompson, city manager of Vacaville, a town of more than 80,000 residents midway between Sacramento and San Francisco. "As a city grows, the weight of the [also-growing] bureaucracy is hard for people to handle. They want a mayor and a council-member they can identify with."

A former senior management analyst for Sacramento city hall, Thompson says that city managers are finding they need to be more responsive to citizens — and to neighborhood concerns, in particular. He recalls that at a recent conference of the International City Management Association, "a lot of the older city managers were pretty direct about how they've resisted the idea of doing any consensus-building, among city councilmembers or the public. They feel that their job is to practice good management, not to be political.

"And," Thompson says with a laugh, "if [city managers] ever are identified as political figures, we're doomed!" In the meantime, he adds, a growing trend in city government of all sizes is decentralizing its services to both bring social services into the neighborhoods "and to let people meet some of the people who deliver those services. Not just the elected officials, but the ones who can directly offer assistance. People need to know who's running their government."

Thompson blames the education system for not better preparing students to be informed citizens. "The schools just do a horrible job of explaining how government works," he says. "The only time kids in [Vacaville] find out what form of government their city has is during the hour I speak to the

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political-science class. ...they really have no idea of how a [smaller] city is run, day-by-day."

One educator who doubts that a trend is afoot to politicize local government operations, and who thinks to do so would be ill-advised, is the University of Southern California's Chester Newland, a highly respected guru of city managers across the country.

"It's not so much a matter of [a city's] size," says Newland, "although that's the usual discussion. For example, Dallas, which is the same size as San Diego, is a council/manager form [of government] and has been for years.... They [councilmembers] don't earn a living being politicians. They work for a living, and then serve as citizens."

"Twice," Newland recalls, "San Diego has considered revising [its form of government]; many, many years ago, and then about three or four years ago, they considered it again. ...[Then-Mayor] Pete Wilson tried to revise the government to a strong mayor/council system while he was there. That failed, you may remember. It is a good example, nonetheless of [showing] when a person has a capable manager, the mayor certainly can exercise very considerable influence and leadership, partly because the mayor doesn't have to do all the day-to-day administration but can really be an aggressive leader."

Responding to Serna's assertion that part-time, "weak" mayors and city councils have all of the accountability but none of the responsibility, Newland says, "Basically, what many of [local elected leaders] would like would be to politicize the system, [and] turn to spoils appointments as a way of having more direct political responsibility. I would say that most people who have watched American politics during this period of growing transactional or 'change' politics [since the 1950s] would probably conclude that the politics is leading us back to a period of rampant spoils."

"The last thing I'd ever do as mayor is hire my political friends for government jobs," Serna says emphatically. "You need the professionals. Under the plan I envision, you'd still have a strong administrator. No one is talking about doing away with city managers, though maybe we wouldn't call them that anymore. We're simply talking about letting people lead who were elected to lead."

Slipe freely admits he wants it both ways. "I strongly believe that for the council/manager form of government to work, you have to have a strong manager and a strong council. It won't work if the manager's strong but the council's weak, or vice versa." He takes out a photocopy of a newspaper article he's hung onto for several weeks — a listing, by New York-based *Financial World* Magazine, of the best-fiscally-managed of the 30 largest U.S. cities. "Of the top four [Dallas, Phoenix, Portland, San Jose], only one doesn't have a council/manager form of government," Slipe says. "That's Portland. And they're considering it."

But who do you think the voters are going to blame when they go to the polls? The city manager? Of course not. They'll blame their mayor.

—Mayor Joe Serna

Of California's 468 cities, more than 50 operate under the mayor/council form of government; the rest under council/manager form. Most of the mayor/council municipalities are small cities (3000 to 20,000 population) — excluding such notable exceptions as Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco. At present, no other city besides Sacramento seems poised to restructure its governing system.

Serna maintains that as cities grow, voters will continue to demand knowing who their leaders are, face-to-face. While he has no plans to try introducing a ballot measure to amend the city's charter — "It'd seem just a little self-serving, don't you think?" he asks — his new manager, Edgar, says he anticipates the formation of a citizens' charter commission "in the next year" to weigh the question of a full-time, adequately compensated mayor and council. Yet while Serna says he thinks the commission should evaluate the entire charter "but with absolutely no directions from the elected officials," Edgar says: "No, all they should consider right now is this one question. We don't need to get people bogged down in hundreds of trivial items when this is the first and most important change that needs to be made."

"This push for a full-time mayor and council isn't about power," Serna says. "But I have to tell you, I'm getting real tired of hearing Sacramento referred to as a 'city manager' form of government."

Slipe, too, says he gets upset "when people refer to [Sacramento] as a 'city manager' form of government. It's a council/manager. The council sets the policy and the manager carries it out."

That's a statement that still inspires merriment in Isenberg, the former Sacramento mayor who now serves in the Assembly. At Slipe's retirement dinner, Isenberg — whom Slipe credits with having been a strong mayor (though Isenberg has insisted he accomplished this strictly by allowing others to perceive he had more powers than he did) — said of his longtime friend, "One thing I'll always admire about Walter is that of all the city managers I've heard say, 'The council sets the policy and the manager carries it out,' he's the only one who had the graciousness to at least blush afterward."

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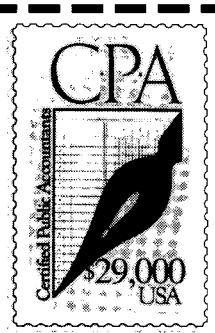

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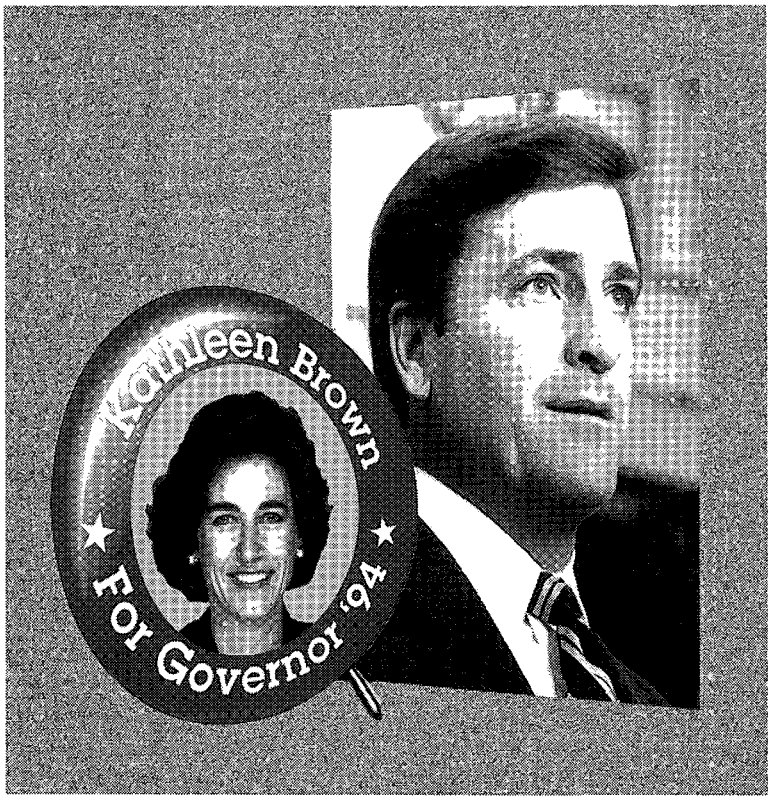
cjWeekly

april 19, 1993

KATHLEEN BROWN, GARAMENDI JOCKEY FOR '94 AT WEEKEND DEMO CONVENTION

And then, there's that *other* Brown



graphic by Patricia L. Tweten

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It's been a mere six months since the strafing, broadsides and cannon shots of Election '92 fell silent, leaving the political landscape scarred and — except for the occasional special election — almost peaceful.

Well, don't get used to it.

The opening salvos of Election '94 already have rumbled across the horizon, with Republican Gov. Pete Wilson the main target. But evidence of another major skirmish-to-come emerged recently at the Democratic state convention, held the first weekend in April in Sacramento. It was there, surrounded by some 2400 Democratic faithful, that the two leading contenders for the 1994 gubernatorial nomination came together for the first time. State Treas. Kathleen Brown and Insur. Comm. John Garamendi glad-handed throughout the hall, interacting like a pair of wary gunslingers measuring each other for some future showdown.

Primary target of convention rhetoric was Wilson, the beleaguered incumbent, whose anticipated political demise lent a kind of gleefulness to the entire preceeding.

But the "Kathleen and John Show" was the confab's feature attraction. The ubiquitous not-quite-candidates could be spotted pressing the flesh at gatherings large and small, with a CNN camera crew in tow. At one point Saturday morning, the two stopped to greet one another at the front of a large banquet hall, offering delegates the appealing fantasy that the coming primary battle may not really be that nasty after all. The two candidates themselves know better, however.

Of the two, Brown was the one most clearly in campaign mode. Purple campaign signs and bumper stickers sprouted up everywhere, most noticeably at the annual Eleanor Roosevelt breakfast honoring women candidates. Party Chmn. Phil Angelides, whose term ended at the convention, made no secret of his support for Brown, predicting a bright future "when *she* raises her right hand to take the oath of office." In her address to the breakfast gathering, Brown gave what may have been the first speech of her campaign as she recounted the details of California's lagging economy.

Dems, *continued on page 7*

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Isabella's Ear

Another kind of Pac. It's been about a decade since anybody heard from the **Hack Pac** — a self-styled group of Capitol pols who operated under the motto: "Dedicated to the belief that politicians were made to be broken." Seems the hacks are back, *inspired, they say,* by "recent demonstrations of crass political tastelessness." (Jeez, what planet have they been on for 10 years?) Whatever the reason, they provide us with a couple of morsels:

• It has been rumored for the past few weeks that a member of the Assembly had wandered into the office of **B.T. Collins** only hours after Collins' death to compare the size of his digs with hers, just in case she might want to move. The Pac now fingers the member as Democrat **Juanita MacDonald**, the frosh from Long Beach. "Ms. MacDonald's breathtaking insensitivity is very reassuring," says the Pac. "... the spirit of unbridled ambition and shameless opportunism is very much alive" despite term limits.

• And vac the mats, will ya? The Pac also reports that another Democratic rookie showed up for her first day of work as a legislator and told an Assembly sergeant to "wash, wax and gas" her Jaguar. Yo, **Vivien Bronshvag**, sergeants don't do Jags. That's why you got personal staff.

(Denials all around.)

B.T.'s gone, and the list of those who want to replace him in the 5th Assembly District hit an official 17 on April 12th, the last day to file for the May 25th special election (see story, page 5). One candidate took out papers at the last minute but never filed them— **Candy Lightner**, the founder of MADD.

Weep for me — and circle the wagons. A new "legal rights and defense committee" has been set up to lend moral support to — and raise money for — lobbyist **Clay Jackson**. A few of Jackson's high-powered lobbyist friends — **John Norwood, George Steffes, John Foran** and **Michael Kahl** — signed a letter to colleagues and others, asking if they, too, wouldn't like to add their names to the committee letterhead. They also were asked to make donations to a fund to help Jackson pay a mountain of anticipated legal bills. Our guess is that more than a few lobbyists might just toss a nickel or two into the pot, because this one falls under the category: If they can get Clay, they can get anybody.

Chuck this. Far be it for us to mention another political newsletter, but this one piqued our curiosity: *The Spear Chucker.* Actually, it's less of a newsletter than a political SCUD aimed at Rep. **Bob Dornan** (R-Garden Grove). Those who want to subscribe to what is billed as the "ravings of California Congressman Bob Dornan" are asked to donate $25 to The Bob Dornan Retirement Fund in Santa Ana. The fund and tract are the brainchilds of **Justin Hughes**, who seems willing to dedicate the next year of his life to bouncing B-1 Bob. Of course, any number of people have dedicated themselves to the same end over the past few years — and Dornan is still a member of Congress. By the way, the fund also has a theme: "Liberate Disneyland," which is emblazoned on a campaign button.

Huzzah for Senator Ruben Ayala. The Chino Democrat always looks out for the little folk. Yessir, and we want to tip the hat to the senator for his thoughtfulness. Yessir. Ayala wants everybody to recognize Professional Secretary's Week, so he sent out a splashy letter, inviting his lobbyist pals to send their secretaries to lunch today as his guests at Posey's Cottage. *His guests.* Can you imagine? Generous to a fault, that Ayala. Oh, by the by. Lobbyists have to pony up $500 apiece to get their minions in the door.

Workers' Comp puzzle 459: If a senator is allergic to newsprint but has to read newspapers as part of his or her job, and as a result gets unsightly rashes, is he or she entitled to file a claim? What if he or she is incapacitated by a migrane caused by reading about him or herself? Is that the point Democratic Sen. **Diane Watson** was trying to make during a recent hearing on workers' comp as it applies to women? Watson claimed she was allergic to newsprint. Or was it to the stuff that appears *in* newsprint? It was all very confusing. cjW

cjWeekly

Publisher, Thomas R. Hoeber; **Editor**, Richard Zeiger; **Managing Editor**, A.G. Block; **Associate Editors**, Steve Scott, Danielle Starkey; **Assistant Editors**, Mary Beth Barber, Laura A. Locke; **Correspondents**, Mandy Bates, Nick Compin, Richard Cox, Greg Hoban, Barbara Jeffrey, Michelle Johnson-Harris, Steve Karas, Cindy McKeeman, Robert McKeown, Kelly Norris, Martin O'Hara, June Pilcher, Gary Pitzer, David Spagnolo, Virginia Vega; **Circulation**, Sheryl Wood; **Production Coordinator**, Patricia L. Tweten; **Art Staff**, Scarlet Hong, Debbie Stevens; **Staff**, Ana Hernandez; **Interns**, Ian Forsyth, Justin Zimmerman.

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Bergeson confirmation may open the door for Channel One

When Bill Honig was state supt. of public instruction, he went to the mat to keep Channel One out of California schools. Channel One is the brainchild of Whittle Communications, and its centerpiece is a daily TV program that beams 10 minutes of news and features and 2 minutes of ads into classrooms. Contracts between Whittle and client school districts require the entire program be aired almost every day throughout district schools. Honig thought the whole idea outrageous.

"Everyone tunes [the ads] out. Channel One doesn't bother me that much."

But Bill Honig is gone, thanks to a felony conflict-of-interest conviction. And the person Gov. Pete Wilson nominated to replace him has a different attitude. Sen. Marian Bergeson supports Channel One and has no qualms about Whittle pushing products in classrooms as long as parents, teachers and students are supportive. During the first round of her confirmation hearings, the Newport Beach Republican said she wants to bring California classrooms into the 21st Century. Whittle, she seemed to feel, could play a part in that process.

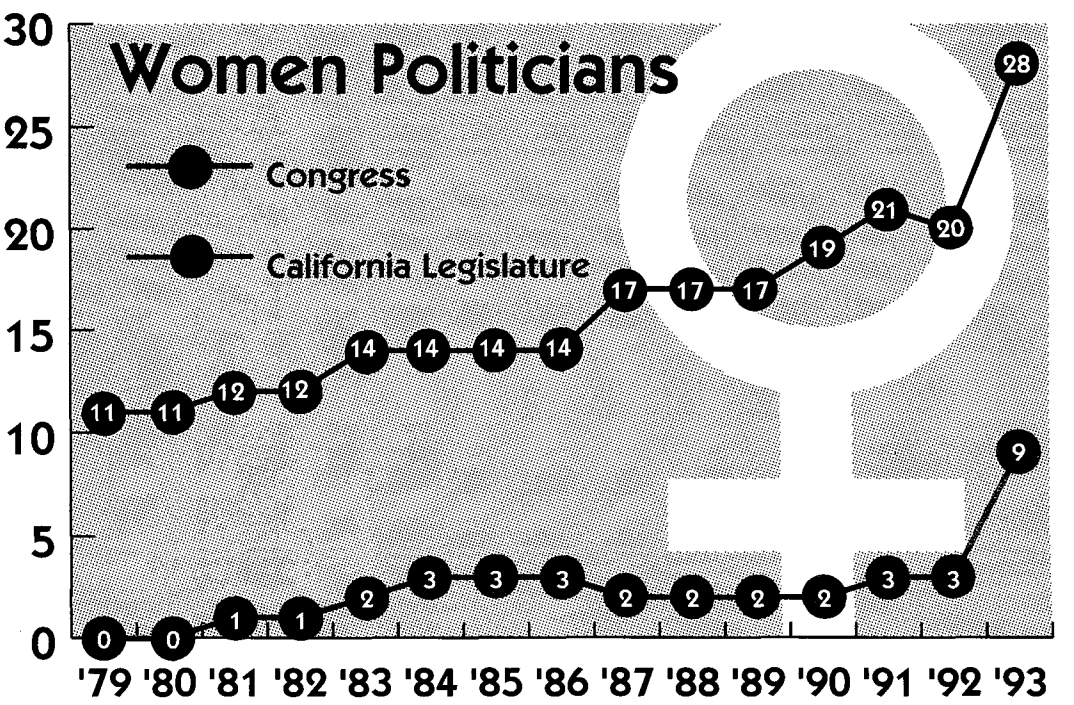
Basically, Whittle's deal with school districts works like this: In return for allowing its news and ads into classrooms, Whittle gives schools free TVs, satellite dishes and VCRs. Currently, Channel One broadcasts in over 40 percent of all secondary schools in the country, reaching 12,000 schools and 8 million students. California and New York are the only states to fiercely resist Whittle's efforts.

Bergeson's confirmation, however, may open the door in California. In a March 18 interview, she told the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "Everyone tunes [the ads] out. Channel One doesn't bother me that much."

Whittle and Honig's Dept. of Education have been engaged in a protracted fight over Channel One for nearly 4 years, a fight that didn't end with

Channel One, *continued on page 6*

Bear Facts



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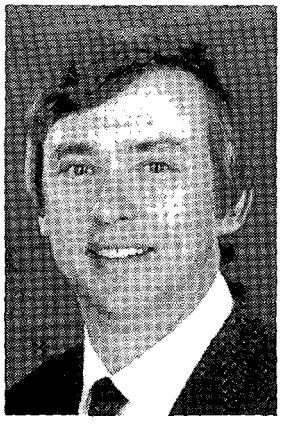
Profile

Paul Horcher



Republican Assm. Paul Horcher won't win any popularity contests in his caucus these days. And it's not just the caucus; at the GOP state convention earlier this year, he was the object of several resolutions, including one to censure him and another to kick him out of the party. The resolutions against Horcher got nowhere, but he remains bitter.

Some say the Hate Horcher Club started when the West Covina lawmaker accepted Spkr. Willie Brown's appointment as vice chairman of the Ways and Means Comm. after the 1992 elections. For years, that post has gone to a Republican, and the GOP caucus traditionally names whomever it wants to fill it. This year, the caucus had agreed that only Dean Andal should accept the post. But Brown wasn't feeling all that traditional when it came to Andal, a Stockton conservative who was conspicuous for speaker-bashing during last year's protracted budget fight.

Others say the bad feelings go to 1988 when Horcher supported the primary opponent of Ontario Assm. Jim Brulte. Brulte, who now is Assembly minority leader, says he bears no animosity toward Horcher because of that past primary. His problem with Horcher is the Ways and Means appointment.

Horcher says that if he hadn't agreed to be Ways and Means vice chair, it would have gone to Dem. Steve Peace, and all those GOP staffers would have been fired. He also says the fact that he's a maverick contributed to his being *persona non grata*.

"I didn't do what I was told to do," he said. "You learn lessons fast here. You don't let other people do your thinking for you."

Several of Horcher's colleagues say they warned him against accepting the job. "I counseled him *not* to take it, since the caucus agreed as a whole *not* to do that. ...When we take a collective decision, I try to agree to that," said GOP Assm. Bill Jones of Fresno, the man Brulte replaced as minority leader. "Some people have reasons to have trouble with Paul from way before that. He supported me for Republican leader, which was not a popular move at the time."

Cathie Wright, who's now a senator but was vice chair of Ways and Means last year, said that if she'd been in Horcher's position, she would've accepted, too.

"Number one, it improves his status with his district; and number two, allows him to overcome a [campaign] debt that leadership said they'd help him with but didn't," said Wright.

While they may not resort to punching him in the halls of the Capitol, Horcher's enemies have other ways of smearing his disloyalty in his face, and what it will cost him. For example, even though Horcher is the lead Republican on Ways and Means, it is an empty title inside the caucus. Brulte named Assm. Pat Nolan, another former minority leader, as caucus lead. And he named Andal as caucus lead on all things budget. In addition, Nolan is using GOP caucus staff to draw up a budget analysis separate from Horcher's. Are they coming up with profoundly different ideas? Not really, according to Jones and other Republicans. Horcher's detractors also tried to create the illusion among professional staff that working for him is a kiss of death.

"The staff I had were getting mixed signals — that he wouldn't be around, that the caucus wouldn't accept him," Wright says of her old Ways and Means staff. "If you had a mortgage to pay, would you work for Horcher?"

Horcher, meanwhile, says he's pleased with his consulting staff. And as to rumors that he considered switching to the Democratic Party, he says "That's just people talking. I love the Republican Party, [and] I can't change the party from the outside."

Horcher, a 41-year-old father of two young daughters, is an attorney who practiced law in South Africa, Saudi Arabia and briefly in Iran before returning to Diamond Bar, where he served on a municipal advisory committee from 1982-89. When the city incorporated in 1989, he became the city's first mayor pro tem. He was living in Iran when the Shah was overthrown, and calls his week-long escape from that country one of the more harrowing experiences of his life.

Yeah, spending a week eluding Iranian revolutionaries probably is a lot more harrowing that facing down a few grumpy Republican colleagues. SW

— Danielle Starkey

District:	**AD60**
Elected:	**1990**
Term Limit:	**1996**
Election History:	**Diamond Bar City Council**
Occupation:	***Attorney***
Age:	**41**
Education:	**BA, UCLA; MA, Pepperdine; JD, La Verne**
Committees:	**Ways & Means; Health; Judiciary; Finance & Insurance**

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elections

Alby (again) runs for Assembly

With just five weeks left to distinguish themselves from a pack of competitors, the 17 wanna-bes for the 5th Assembly District seat (left vacant by the death of B.T. Collins) are in a free-for-all. Likely leaders among 10 Republicans for this GOP-leaning seat are Barbara Alby, an anti-abortion activist who twice lost primaries to Collins; Carol Bass, a pro-choice moderate who served five years on the Sacramento Co. Policy Planning Comm.; Lou Barnett, a Wilson appointee to the state Unemployment Insurance Appeals Bd. and former political director for Ronald Reagan's PAC; Clayton Fong, former aide to both President Bush and former Gov. George Deukmejian; Mark Baughman, the former John Doolittle aide who ran a credible race against Dem. Rep. Vic Fazio in 1990; and Ted Costa of People's Advocate, longtime associate of the late Paul Gann.

On the Democratic side, Joan Barry, executive director of Serve Our Seniors; Stephanie Halnan, prez of the San Juan Unified School Dist.; and Linda Davis, a SMUD board member are the top contenders. Barry is said to have the support of a network of seniors, a loyal voting constituency. Halnan, on the other hand, is a lobbyist and a partner of John Mockler, Willie Brown's former education consultant.

Among Republicans, Bass, who's been endorsed by Wilson-appointed state Consumer Affairs Sec'y Sandy Smoley, came within a cat's whisker of getting in the run-off for a Sacto. supervisorial seat recently. Barnett has good national connections, with his ties to Reagan and Jack Kemp, who appointed him to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; and Alby has the support of gun lobbies and Republican Party activists who are part of the "traditional values" crowd.

"I think it will be a very spirited campaign," said Don Ediger, chief of staff to GOP Assemblyman Larry Bowler. "Obviously Alby's got the advantage in name ID. But the dynamics are different this time. A lot of Alby supporters voted for her because she was the only prolifer. Now there are three or four."

Alby said she decided to jump in for a third race after no other "consensus candidate" emerged, and added that her competitors are strong candidates, but that she is "the lead person now." SW

— Danielle Starkey

Farr-McCampbell in Panetta's old lair

Another special election may be around the corner for the central coast if Dem. Assm. Sam Farr wins a June 8 run-off for the seat vacated by Leon Panetta. Panetta, a Democrat, left the 17th Cong. Dist. in January to head President Clinton's Office of Management and Budget. Farr finished first among Democrats at a special election April 13.

Farr emerged atop a field of 26 candidates, gaining 26% of the vote. The Democratic runner-up was Bill Monning, an attorney from Santa Cruz, with 18%. Barbara Shipnuck, thought to be Farr's toughest contender, had 14%. Name recognition and campaign money are thought to be reasons why Farr won the primary, although political newcomer Monning gained a large chunk of the vote through a grass-roots effort. A relatively high 32% of the voters turned out. The run-off is expected to attract more because of a handful of supervisorial races also on the same ballot.

Some Democrats already are assuming Farr will win. Santa Cruz Co. Supe. Gary Patton and former Santa Cruz Mayor John Laird have voiced interest in Farr's assembly seat.

Still, the race is not a lock for Farr. Democratic registration in the district is only 52%; Republican registration is 31% — making the district a toss-up. Farr's June opponent is the top GOP vote-getter, Bill McCampbell, who lost to Panetta last November by a three-to-one margin. The district has a high number of independents, and Republicans tend to be more liberal and more independent-minded than their inland brethren.

Other contenders in the June 8 run-off are independents Peter James and James Ogle, Libertarian Richard Quigley, American Independent Jerome McCready and Green Party candidate Kevin Clark. SW

— Mary Beth Barber

education

Bill Honig lands a job

Bill Honig, the former state supt. of public instruction who was forced to resign after a recent felony conviction, takes his educational know-how to San Francisco State this month. Honig joins the faculty as a visiting lecturer in the Department of Administration and Interdisciplinary Studies, and as a director of the university's new Center for Systematic School Reform.

The Center is being created to help school districts interested in reform. Honig said most of the 200 to 250 schools are in California and that he has already contacted educators at UCLA, UC-Berkeley and Stanford for their input. Research, curriculum development, teacher training and technical assistance will be provided by the Center to help school districts build reform programs.

This semester, Honig said he will lead a series of colloquia open to faculty and students and give guest lectures on school reform. Next fall he will split his time between teaching and running the Center. The appointment runs throughout the 1993-94 academic year and, as a full professor, he will be paid $60,000.

Describing Honig as a "practical visionary," SFSU Pres. Robert Corrigan said, "His legacy to California students and schools is going to be preserved and expanded through his work here. We are excited by this opportunity to work hand-in-hand with the man who has been called 'the architect of the new school reform movement.'" Asked if the education faculty had any qualms about hiring someone who had been tossed from office as a result of a felony conviction, Henrietta Schwartz, dean of the SFSU School of Education, said that the benefits of having Honig as part of the faculty outweighed any possible negatives. "It's very difficult to do widescale reform, and he can do it all over the state," she said. "We wanted to tap into that knowledge. We are aware of the fact that he is a convicted felon ... and we recognize that [the appointment] might be controversial, but his talents and experiences are invaluable." She added that the faculty initiated the request for Honig's appointment.

Honig acknowledged that he looked

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at other options at other institutions, but declined to comment on whether he actually received any offers.

Although Honig has appealed his conviction, the former school chief has started performing the 1000 hours of community service imposed on him by the court; he's working with officials at San Francisco Unified School District and San Francisco City College to implement suggestions in three education reform texts issued by the state.

Honig said he is looking forward to his new role implementing policy rather than instituting it. "Public schools have the capacity for improvement; we can help those that want to improve," he said.

— Laura A. Locke

Marian Bergeson and the CTA

The single biggest mystery surrounding the confirmation of Sen. Marian Bergeson as state school superintendent is: "Where is the California Teachers Association?"

The CTA — one of the Capitol's most powerful lobbying groups — in the past has actively sought center stage on questions of educational policy. However, board members emerged from a meeting three weekends ago without a recommendation either to support or oppose, despite the announced opposition of the rival California Federation of Teachers.

If you ask Del Weber, CTA president, the reason is simple. "We have endorsed Sen. Bergeson seven times ... and have worked with her very well," says Weber who, like Bergeson, is an Orange Co. Republican. "We are in no position to go charging in," either in support or in opposition.

Privately, however, some close to CTA say there is more at work than simple caution. "I think it has everything to do with Del," said one CTA supporter. "There is a split on their board," said another, who also cited past endorsements as a source of the hesitation. Some are also concerned about burning too many bridges behind them. "If she gets confirmed, we are going to have to work with her," warned one union official.

Whatever the rationale, it's clear that CTA's hesitation helps Bergeson's cause, giving Assembly Democrats an excuse to break with Spkr. Willie Brown, who opposes Bergeson. Weber insists, however, that the die isn't cast. Transcripts of Bergeson's testimony before the Assembly select committee considering her nomination are in the hands of CTA board members. And last Tuesday, the nominee herself met with members of a CTA interview committee, which reported its findings and recommendations to the full board on Thursday of last week. A final decision on the nomination may be forthcoming this week.

— Steve Scott

Channel One

continued from page 3

Honig's departure. Two weeks ago, William Dawson, the Honig deputy temporarily running things until a Wilson appointee is confirmed, decided to appeal a Santa Clara Co. court decision last November that permitted Channel One access to California classrooms. In that ruling, however, Judge Jeremy Fogel said that Channel One cannot be shown in the East Side Union High School district unless students are given the option of being excused at the start of each semester. The Dept. of Education is appealing because the decision doesn't go far enough: It wants Channel One banned, period, as it is in New York. Meanwhile, Fogel's decision marked the first time that limits were placed on the compulsory showing of TV commercials during class time anywhere in the U.S.

"It's a violation of compulsory attendance laws, and it's outside the scope of authority of school districts to enter into a commercial agreement that rents schools to advertisers," said William Ruckeyser, spokesman for the Dept. of Education.

"Can California public schools sell off part of the school day for non-education purposes?," Dawson asked in a press release. "If the courts allow that, where does it stop? I think we have to draw the line here and now."

Bergeson disagrees: "I don't think Sacramento should micro-manage 1000 school districts and tell the schools what they can't do."

Many education officials, on the other hand, fear that Channel One undermines teachers' authority, and some express the notion that contracts between Whittle and districts mean Channel One holds students "captive."

It's very difficult for students to block out the advertisements when the entire class is required to watch the show, said Ruckeyser. Moreover, if the class doesn't abide by Whittle's rules, it risks losing the equipment.

Whittle spokesman Jim Ritts said that certain user restrictions are justified because his company has invested more than $300 million in the venture and "there has to be some accountability."

If the advertising is so objectionable, Ritts added, then why do more than 40 percent of secondary school districts in the country use Channel One? "Channel One only goes where it's invited," he said.

Of course, this philosophy doesn't prevent Whittle from spending a little spare change in an effort to grease the invites. For instance, an 18-month span, it ponied up over $640,000 in California for lobbyist and lawyer fees to beat back anti-Channel One bills swirling through the Legislature, and to battle in court a proposed ban by Honig.

"I don't think Sacramento should micro-manage 1000 school districts and tell the schools what they can't do."

— Bergeson

Ritts framed Whittle's involvement as one of an ally with school districts in their struggles with the state over local control. "There has been such opposition to prohibit local school districts from making this decision, and schools have the right make it," he said. "One has to question the motivation of officials in California to pursue this absurd suit."

But, Ruckeyser points out that Whittle is 49.6 percent foreign-owned (large chunks are in the hands of Philips Electronics of Holland and Associated Newspaper Holdings of Great Britain). As a result, he indicated, it couldn't get a broadcast license from the FCC. "It wouldn't be allowed on public airwaves," he said, "yet it wants to get into the public schools."

— Laura A. Locke

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Dems

continued from page 1

But she offered few solutions beyond that well-worn, indefinable bromide, "leadership."

Such was Brown's apparent popularity that for much of the convention, she didn't have to work the crowd. The crowd worked her. The Brown campaign booth along one side of the convention hall contained a mini photo studio, and all through the day, people were lined up, waiting to be photographed with her. There, Brown's potential as a candidate emerged. Each new photo subject was greeted with the easy charm associated with her father Pat (the former governor), and without the aloofness characterized by her brother Jerry (the *other* former governor). The photos themselves were turned into campaign buttons.

While he was clearly politicking as well, Garamendi's approach differed markedly. For instance, Garamendi campaign signs were nowhere to be seen. "Not appropriate at this point," he sniffed. "We're here to talk about issues."

Hoping to make up in diligence what he lacked in mass appeal, the commish tirelessly worked the convention floor, the hospitality suites, and just about every spot where delegates paused to take a meal. At huge breakfast and lunch banquets Saturday, Garamendi patiently shook hand after hand. Garamendi, too, is effective one-on-one, greeting everyone with back-slapping familiarity. When his turn came to address delegates, Garamendi stuck to issues he hopes to ride to increased prominence by next year — universal health insurance and "pay at the pump" car insurance.

As though to emphasize his commitment, Garamendi's camp arranged for a bloodmobile to park outside the convention where delegates had themselves tested as possible bone-marrow donors.

Sticking close to his issues is Garamendi's best weapon at the moment as it distinguishes him from the already emerging complaint that Brown is too squishy on substance. But the insurance commissioner, too, savored a few shots at the incumbent. "Under Pete Wilson's leadership we have seen the California dream turned into the California nightmare," he said. Like Brown — and Pete Wilson, for that matter — Garamendi has a wooden speaking style but seems a little more at ease with a quip.

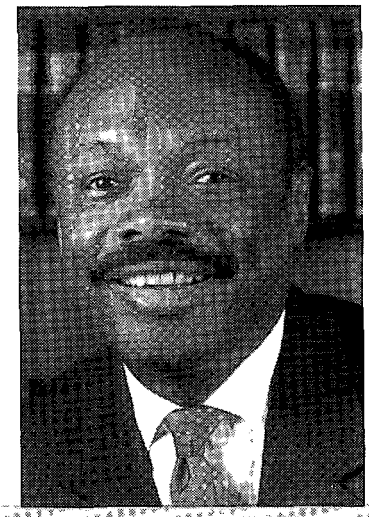
One prominent politician who needs no oratorical pointers is Assm. Speaker Willie Brown, who continued his gubernatorial tease in a brief Saturday appearance. In a slashing speech aimed at his chief political adversary, he took great delight in attacking Wilson, at the same time warning delegates not to get complacent.

"The one thing Pete Wilson can do well is campaign," the speaker thundered. However, Brown added that, if everyone worked hard, 1994 would bring "a Garamendi for governor, or a Kathleen for governor, or a different shade of Brown for governor."

As the San Francisco Democrat spoke, California Teachers Assn. political director Alice Huffman strolled through the convention hall, passing out brochures touting her petition drive to get the speaker's name on the '94 primary ballot. Just how serious Willie Brown is taking all this is open to question. After his midday speech, he hopped in his Ferrari and dashed back to San Francisco for his annual black-tie birthday dinner, with special guest Ray Charles. The speaker insisted it was the only day Charles was available.

Governor wasn't the only office drawing speculation as the party gears up for 1994. Angelides is eyeing a run at lieutenant governor and raised $400,000 toward that end during a Friday evening fund raiser. Assm. Rusty Areias (D-Los Banos), who has had trouble deciding which office to seek, says he now is leaning toward light guv as well and is spending two days a month in Los Angeles trying to build name recognition.

And then, there's Ctlr. Gray Davis, who is readying his every-other-year quest for some other job. He, too, is said to be eyeing the No. 2 job but still must mend his reputation, tarnished during last year's U.S. Senate primary against Dianne Feinstein. Davis' campaign, you may recall, aired an ad that compared his opponent to jailed hotelier Leona Helmsley — a little piece of puffery that backfired on the controller with all the force of an exploding cigar. Davis offered a *mea culpa* of sorts at the convention when at one point, he said Gov. Wilson's programs were the most ill-conceived in history, "with the possible exception of my campaign for Senate last year."



W. Brown

After his midday speech, he hopped in his Ferrari and dashed back to San Francisco for his annual black-tie birthday dinner.

The Democrats' convention displayed what could amount to an embarrassment of riches. But all those signs of unity bear with them an undercurrent of tension as well. First of all, the delegates were younger than in recent years, with some 450 of them under 30. That's more than 10 times the under-30 crowd that attended the convention just one year ago. While many came in under the Clinton influence, most vowed to continue the momentum into '94 and beyond. But large numbers of young people pressing into Democratic politics may be a mixed blessing. Despite their ideological liberalism, Democratic activists tend to be a fairly staid lot. Many come from traditional Democratic interest groups like organized labor, trial lawyers, public employees and senior citizens. For them, "change" only meant changing presidents, not the kind of generational change many believe Democrats must make to keep 1992 from being merely an aberration.

— Steve Scott and A.G. Block

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NEWSFILE
CALIFORNIA JOURNAL

newsmakers

(A listing of recent appointments, elections, and resignations.)

GOVERNOR'S APPOINTMENTS

Marjorie Ann Kelly, 45, director of the bureau of the program quality assurance for the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services: as *deputy director for the children and family services division of the Department of Social Services.* Republican. 03/17/93

Carlos L. Lopez, 41, Morgan Hill, an assistant director of the Employment Training Panel, as *deputy director of the Employment Training Branch for the Employment Development Department.* 03/30/93.

Kassy Perry, 32, a deputy director of communications and press relations in the governor's office: as *associate secretary at the Health and Welfare Agency.* Republican. 03/31/93.

Chris Chrystal, 50, Sacramento, associate secretary for public affairs at the Health and Welfare Agency: as *special assistant to the director of the Department of Water Resources.* Republican. 04/01/93.

Elin Miller, 33, Fair Oaks, western government relations manager for DowElanco: as *chief deputy director of the Department of Pesticide Regulation at the California Environmental Protection Agency (Cal/EPA).* No political affiliation listed. 04/01/93.

Perry Oliver Johnson, 42, Oakland, staff attorney at the State Compensation Insurance Fund: as a *commissioner of the Workers' Compensation Appeals Board.* Republican. 03/29/93.

Robert Grunwald, 62, Sacramento, president of Robert Grunwald & Associates, Inc., an environmental management and design consultant: to the *State Mining and Geology Board.* Republican. 03/23/93.

Seiko Baba Brodbeck, 65, associate executive director for programs at the American Public Health Association (APHA) of Washington, DC: as *deputy director for audits and investigations at the Department of Health Services.* Republican. 03/23/93.

Lisa Hughes, 44, Coto de Caza, attorney at the law firm of Hughes and Associates; **Jim Parrinello**, 43, Mill Valley, senior litigation partner for the law firm Nielsen, Merksamer, Hodgson, Parrinello, and Mueller; **Alan Heslop**, 55, Claremont, professor and director of the Rose Institute, a research center at Claremont McKenna College; **Joel Fox**, 43, Granada Hills, president of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, a 250,000 member taxpayer association in California: to the *Citizens on Ballot Initiatives.* Republicans. 03/23/93.

William Leisk, San Diego, a certified Merchant Marine Master, reappointed to the *Boating and Waterways Commission.* Republican. 03/25/93.

Marcel L. Leduc, 50, Tracy, president of the Valley Chapter of the Peace Officers Research Association of California, to the *Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training.* Democrat. 03/25/93.

Robert A. Wolf, 44, Moreno Valley, president of Germania Construction Corporation; **Jerry Epstein**, 69, Marina Del Rey, owner of Del Rey Shores, Marina Pacific Associates: to the *California Transportation Commission.* Epstein is a reappointment. Republicans. 03/24/93.

Alan J. Duran, 45, Sacramento, former district systems manager for Tandem Computers: as *chief of the Information Systems Branch for the Department of Corrections.* Republican. 03/29/93.

Marcia W. Hobbs, 45, Los Angeles, president of San Vicente Investments, a Los Angeles consulting and investment firm: to the *State Park and Recreation Commission.* Republican. 03/29/93.

Katherine Dunlap, 66, Los Angeles, member of the Community Air Quality Task Force: to the *California Water Commission.* Republican. 03/29/93.

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS

Edward A. Ferns, Los Angeles Municipal Court judge: to the *Los Angeles County Superior Court.* 03/22/93.

Candace Beason, 39, La Canada, Los Angeles Municipal Court judge: to the *Los Angeles County Superior Court.* 03/22/93.

Owen Lee Kwong, 49, Sherman Oaks, Los Angeles Municipal Court judge: to the *Los Angeles County Superior Court.* 03/22/93.

Frank Y. Jackson, 44, Palmdale, Los Angeles Municipal Court judge: to the *Los Angeles County Superior Court.* 03/22/93.

Robert H. Damron, 48, Yuba City, Sutter County Municipal Court judge: to the *Sutter County Superior Court.* 03/24/93.

Charlotte Walter Woolard, 39, San Francisco, associate attorney with Wilson, Elser, Moskowitz, Edelman and Dicker: to the *City and County of San Francisco Municipal Court.* 03/17/93.

Christopher R. Chandler, Yuba

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City, former Republican assemblyman; to the *Sutter County Municipal Court.* 03/24/93.

private sector

(Recent promotions and assignments in the private sector.)

Helene Sahadi York, named *vice president for housing and growth management for the Bay Area Council.* 03/30/93.

Keith Cunningham, promoted to *Senior Account Executive*; **Janet Barbieri**, promoted to *Account Coordinator* in the Sacramento office of Stoorza, Ziegaus & Metzger, a public affairs/public relations firm. 03/25/93.

Frank H. Shu, professor of astronomy at U.C. Berkeley, elected as *president of the American Astronomical Society.* 04/08/93.

department of insurance actions

(Recent actions taken by the Insurance Commissioner of California.)

- The California State Automobile Association Inter-Insurance Bureau (CSAA) has agreed to pay its policyholders $72 million in Proposition 103 rebates. Combined with dividends of $156 million paid to its 1.1 million customers in 1990 and credited under the voter-approved initiative, CSAA will have rebated its policyholders who have both auto and homeowners coverage an average of $292 per customer. 03/24/93.

- The California Supreme Court accepted for review two cases Proposition 103 cases: *Safeco v. Gillespie* and *State Farm v. Garamendi.* The California Court of Appeal had issued opinions regarding challenges by insurance companies to the insurance commissioner's authority to adopt regulations implementing the 1988 insurance-reform initiative. 03/25/93.

- Two-hundred-fifty thousand Transamerica Insurance Company policyholders will receive $17 million in Proposition 103 rebates according to an agreement reached between the company and the Department of Insurance. 03/29/93.

- For the second time in as many weeks, a federal judge has upheld the legal integrity of California's workers' compensation insurance system by rejecting claims that private companies may use a loophole in federal law to avoid paying for mandatory insurance to protect workers. 3/31/93.

agencies

(Changes in regulations or funding, and summaries of statistical studies.)

Acting State Superintendent of Public Instruction **William Dawson** announced that he is petitioning the California Supreme Court to review the **California State Board of Education v. Honig** decision, which was filed by the Court of Appeal in Sacramento on February 18, 1993. 03/30/93.

The Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC):

- fined Willco Associates, a partnership located in Santa Maria, and its two partners, **John J. Will and Steve Will**, $40,000 for twenty-five counts of making campaign contributions in the name of other individuals. 4/1/93.
- fined real estate broker **Robert Shannon**, an employee of Bishop-Hawk, $11,000 for laundering six $99 contributions through various associates in June of 1989. The money was received by candidates **William Ball** and **Gary Mello**. 4/1/93.
- fined developer **John Wong**, general partner and 10 percent owner of Mission Peak Development Co., $3500 for laundering two $99 contributions through his secretary in May 1989. The money was received by candidates **William Ball** and **Gary Mello**. 4/1/93.
- fined San Franciscan's for Common Sense Against Proposition K and the committee's campaign manager, **David Gilmour**, $7000 for falsely reporting on two campaign reports that a $6000 contribution received by the committee was anonymous when it was know that the contributions were made by the Traditional Values Coalition. 4/1/93.
- fined Diamond Bar Councilman **Gary Miller** and the Committee to Elect Gary Miller $6000 for failing to file late contributions reports following his unsuccessful bid for the 31st Senate District seat in the special primary election held February 6, 1990.
- fined **Robert Day**, a New York resident, $4500 for failing to file in a timely manner three "major donor" reports.

reports

(A listing of recent publications by or about government in California.)

California's $4 Billion Bottom Line: Getting Best Value out of the Procurement Process, March 1993. A report which focuses on the policies and procedures used by the state in making purchasing decisions. The report pays particular attention to electronic data processing equipment purchases, the program that promotes state purchasing from disadvantaged businesses, and the Prison Industry Authority. Contact Jeannine L. English at (916) 445-2125 for information.

Political Resource Directory, 1993. Contains detailed information on various national organizations, political consultants, PACs and so on. Call 1-800-423-2677.

the third house

CLIENT CHANGES

Apex Group adds Port San Luis Harbor District

Blonien, Rodney adds Cal-Western Appaloosa Racing, Inc.; and SB 1591 Cities

California Advocates, Inc. adds Charter Medical Corporation; and Placentia Library Dist, on behalf of Altadena; Buena Park & Palos Verdes LD's

California Planners and Consultants, Inc. adds County of Imperial

Capital Representation Group, Inc. adds City of Pasadena; and San Francisco Baseball Associates

Carlson & Associates, Steve E. adds Cellular Carriers Association of California

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Carpenter, Snodgrass & Associates adds Philip Morris USA, A Division of Philip Morris, Inc.
Caves and Associates, Joseph adds Natural Resources Defense Council; and Planning and Conservation League
Dowd Relations adds County of Santa Clara
Flannery Group adds Edutek Professional Colleges
Franchetti & Franchetti adds Forward Inc.; and Tandem Computers Inc.
Frost, Davis and Donnelly adds Association to Protect the Interests of the Richmond Certificate Holders
Gonsalves & Son, Joe A. adds City of Torrance; and City of West Sacramento
Grench, Herbert adds Midpeninsula Regional Open Space District
Hewitt, Patricia S. adds Fairbank, Cynthia
Hewitt/Fairbank adds Fairbank, Cynthia
Kahn, Soares & Conway adds CA Association of Progressive Rental Organizations (Cal APRO)
Livingston & Mattesich Law Corporation drops Aluminum Window Association
Morrison & Foerster adds Art and Craft Materials Institute; and Western Farm Service, Inc.
Muir, Inc., D. and L. adds Active Auctioneers Association
Murdoch, Walrath, & Holmes, Inc. adds Jurupa Unified School District
Neff/Thomas Incorporated drops Prentice Hall Legal & Financial Services
Nielsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Mueller & Naylor adds Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation; and Interactive Information Services Council
O'Malley and Associates, John F. adds Tallon Termite & Pest Control, Inc.
Pane, Josh adds Spencer-Roberts & Associates
Priest & Associates adds California Land Title Association
Rees and Associates, Inc. adds California Association for Medical Laboratory Technology
Rose & Kindel adds Vision West, Inc.
Sacramento Advocates adds California Dental Health Plan; County of Santa Clara; Gibson Environmental, Inc.; Molina Medical Centers; and Procare; drops California Association of Managed Care Health Plans; and Oak Grove Institute, Ltd.
School Services of California, Inc. adds Bakersfield City School District
Spencer-Roberts & Associates adds Pane, Josh
Steffes, Inc., George R. adds California Healthcare System
Stuart & Associates adds Calaveras Unified School District; and Hemet Unified School District
Ternes-Houston & Associates (aka Corporate Advocates, Inc.) adds National Steel & Shipbuilding Company
Walsh & Associates, Danny adds Manila Community Services District
Wendt-Loper Governmental Relations, Inc. adds Delta Dental Plan of California

TERMINATIONS

Blanchette, Cheryl with Faculty Association of California Community Colleges
Yamaguchi, Elaine G. with University of California Student Association

REGISTRATIONS

DiMare, Dominic with Agricultural Council of California
Fleming, M. Patricia with San Diego Gas & Electric Company
Foy, Patrick J. with Arnold & Associates, Inc.
Rubin, Robert R. with Northern California Power Agency

pacs

California Alliance for Marijuana Legalization; Stockton ID: 930333
Californians for Parks and Wildlife (CALPAW '94); Sacramento ID: 930345
Public Safety First; San Jose ID: 930342
TRW Good Government Fund - California; Cleveland ID: 930324

roll call

SB 82 (Thompson-D)
Limits the annual salary paid to certain chairpersons and members of various state boards and commissions to an amount no greater than the annual salary of members of the Legislature except where at least 90 percent of the annual salary paid to these persons is paid, reimbursed, or otherwise funded by the federal government. Provides that if the position of chairpersons and members have been vacant for more than one year, the funds appropriated shall revert to the general fund.

3/23/93 Senate GO
Democrats for: Alquist, Dills, Hughes, Lockyer, Rosenthal, Torres
Democrats against: None
Republicans for: None
Republicans against: Hill
Not Voting: Beverly (R), Greene (D), Maddy (R), Mello (D)
Passed: 6Y; 1N; 4NV

SB 184 (Maddy-R)
Provides that with respect to beer sold by a wholesaler to a retailer, delivery shall be made only at a retail premises licensed to the retailer or from a loading area at the wholesaler's licensed premises.

3/30/93 Senate GO
Democrats for: Dills, Hughes, Mello, Rosenthal
Democrats against: None
Republicans for: Beverly, Maddy
Republicans against: Hill
Not Voting: Greene (D), Lockyer (D), Torres (D)
Absent: Alquist (D)
Passed: 6Y; 1N; 3NV; 1AB

AB 463 (Tucker-D)
Requires a licensee for beer to mail or deliver written notice of new or changed prices to all retail licensees within a specified territory, and to maintain a record of the mailing or delivery, including an affidavit or declaration executed under penalty of perjury. Imposes a state-mandated local program by expanding the scope of the crime of perjury.

3/30/93 Assembly GO
Democrats for: Baca, Connolly, Cortese, Hauser, Karnette, McDonald, Moore, Tucker
Republicans for: Hoge, Knight, Nolan, Quackenbush, Richter, Woodruff
Not Voting: Napolitano (D)
Absent: Eastin (D)
Passed: 14Y; 0N; 1NV; 1AB

ballot front

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 384,974 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 615,958. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks. The full texts of all initiatives may be obtained from the Secretary of State's election division, 1230 J Street, Sacramento CA 95814.

in circulation:

REGULATION. FREIGHT TRAIN LENGTH. TRANSPORT OF HAZARDOUS MATERIALS — an initiative statute, sponsored by James P. Jones of Sacramento, that would prohibit freight trains

continued on page 12

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- ✓ Initiatives and other ballot measures including currently pending measures and measures proposed and qualified back to 1990;
- ✓ Committee and floor analyses of legislation (text searchable);
- ✓ California and U.S. bills (text-searchable);
- ✓ California campaign contributions;
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transporting certain "hazardous materials" from exceeding 2000 feet in overall length and would apply to railroad freight common carriers originating and traveling within the geographic boundaries of California. "Hazardous materials" would be defined by the federal Department of Transportation and the Federal Railroad Administration. Violators would be fined $500. (March 15, 1993)

REPEAL OF TAX EXEMPTIONS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Clara Henderson of Sacramento, that seeks to rescind the homeowner's property tax exemption and specific income and sales tax exemptions on several non-profit and profit entities. It would delete the constitutal and statuatory exemptions for property taxes on many items, delete from the state Constitution exemptions on homes for the blind and disabled and for injured veterans; delete reimbursement for local governments of homeowners exemptions; delete exemptions for certain income and sales taxes for non-profit organizations like colleges, youth groups, the PTA, blind vending stands, museums, zoos and nursery schools. (April 19, 1993)

REASONABLE ATTORNEY'S FEES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Norman Bedford of Heraldsburg, that states in its entirety that "the prevailing party in all civicl law cases shall, as part of the judgement, be awarded reasonable attorneys fees." (May 27, 1993)

PREAMBLE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Cheryl Fort of Vista, that would amend the preamble of the California Consitution to substitute "Peoples within the boundaries of the Union State" for "the People" as authors of the Constitution; declares the 1879 constitution is "a legislative constitution and that the Constitution of 1849 remains the superior law." (July 29, 1993)

Source: secretary of state cjW

cjWeekly Calendar

April 19

Little Hoover Commission hearing on state procurement. 9:00 AM, State Capitol Room 2040. For information, call (916) 445-2125.

Diane Martinez fund raiser, 5:30 - 7:30 PM, 1700 L St., Sacramento, (916) 443-8421.

The California Roast of Senator Ken Maddy, sponsored by Capitol Focus, 6:00 PM, Radisson Hotel, Sacramento, (916) 443-2229.

April 20

Newton Russell fund raiser, 5:30 - 7:00 PM, Hyatt Regency Hotel, 1209 L St., Sacramento, (818) 577-7203.

Byron Sher fund raiser, 5:30 - 7:30 PM, The Firehouse Courtyard, 1112 Second St., Sacramento, (916) 443-8421.

April 21

Don Rogers annual 39th birthday breakfast fund raiser, 8:00 - 9:30 AM, Hyatt Regency Hotel, 1209 L St., Sacramento, (818) 577-7203.

April 22

Ross Johnson fund raiser, 6:00 - 8:00 PM, LaVie en Rose, 240 South State College Blvd., Brea, (909) 988-6951.

April 23

***California Journal* seminar** on Bill Tracking and Analysis. Contact Rod Tuttle at 444-2840 for information and reservations.

April 25-27

Federal Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission hearings at selected sites throughout California.

May 1 and 2

National Women's Political Caucus L.A. Westside seminar on campaign training for women, Santa Monica College Concert Hall, 1900 Pico Blvd., Santa Monica, (213) 466-3445.

May 5

***California Journal* Bill Analysis Workshop**. Contact Rod Tuttle at 444-2840 for information and reservations.

May 7

***California Journal* seminar** on surviving legislative rules. Contact Rod Tuttle at 444-2840 for information and reservations.

July 9-11

UC Davis Political Campaign Management Institute campaign training program. Davis. Call Julie Gondry at (916) 757-8643.

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illustration by Buz Walker Teach

POWER TO THE TEA

The influential California Teachers Association disproves the old adage: In Capitol politics, those who can, teach.

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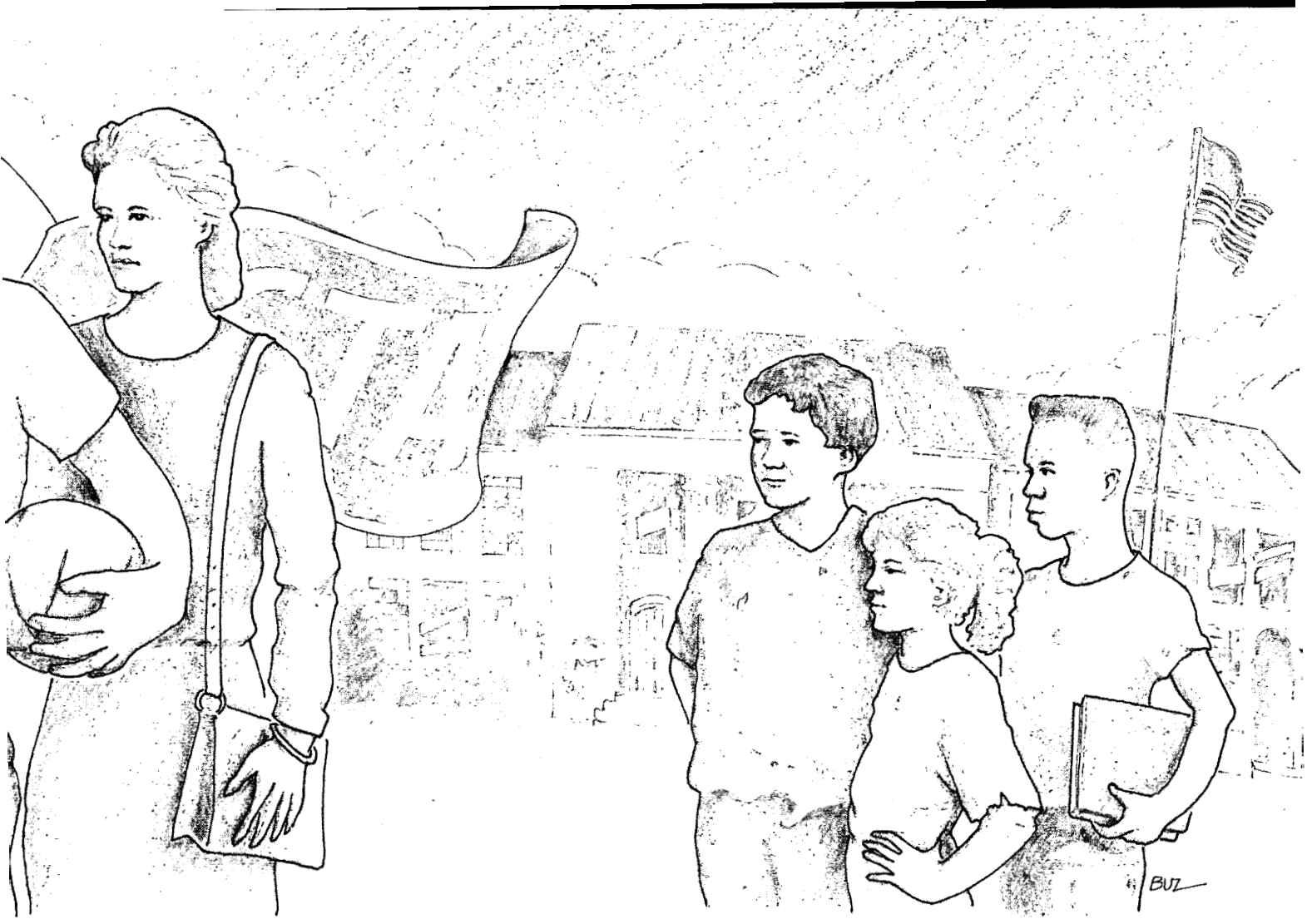

CHERS

"Those that do teach young babes Do it with gentle means and easy tasks..."
—William Shakespeare

The hard-working, selfless teacher, toiling against adversity to bring the light of learning into young minds. It's an ideal firmly embedded in our history and culture — "the Lord's work" in an enlightened society. Thinking about teachers conjures images of Socrates, unlocking the mysteries of thought and logic merely by posing questions to his hero-worshiping students. Or Annie Sullivan, unlocking the very consciouness of Helen Keller with gentle patience and tough love. RobinWilliams in "Dead Poet's Society"; Sidney Poitier in "To Sir With Love"; Robert Donat (or Peter O'Toole) in

By Steve Scott

Steve Scott is a radio commentator and editor of State Capitols Report.

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Over the past eight years, CTA has doled out more than $3 million in legislative campaign contributions and spent more than $10 million to support or oppose various initiatives.

"Goodbye, Mr. Chips."

With icons like these, one would think teachers have more than a leg up in the public-relations department. So what were the descendants of all those shining lights doing at a San Diego resort last summer, sitting in workshops on grass-roots organizing and voter contact at something called the "Political Action Institute?" They were learning about what, for many teachers, has become as essential as an education degree — political activism.

Sponsoring the institute was an organization that has become, arguably, the most politically influential labor union in the state — the 240,000-member California Teachers Association. Over the past eight years, CTA has doled out more than $3 million in legislative campaign contributions and spent more than $10 million to support or oppose various initiatives. Moreover, CTA has built an unparalleled organizational machine, capable of mobilizing its members on short notice for everything from strike support to political rallies.

Supporters of the CTA say the union is using its clout to wage a valiant struggle to preserve adequate funding for schools. Democratic Assemblywoman Delaine Eastin of Union City, who chairs the Assembly Education Committee, says that "when they're lobbying for or against education issues, it's not just 'what's good for our union?' It's 'what's good for the kids?'"

Critics, however, say the CTA is no different in its exercise of political power than any other special interest group. "There can be some argument made," says Ruth Holton, executive director of California Common Cause, "that because of [CTA's] clout in the Legislature, it is harder for other groups that are just as deserving to get their message heard."

Del Weber

Complaints about the political sway held by the teachers' unions are nothing new; they've been uttered ever since the California Teachers Association formed in 1865. For most of its 128-year history, CTA had a fairly loose admission policy, and a number of administrators were counted among its membership. In the early 1970s the administrators were kicked out, and the organization became involved in the fight over collective

continued on page 24

CTA'S SACRAM

Well connected and tenac

One could almost hear the smile on De Weber's face through the telephone line a a reporter wrapped up a lengthy interview "When," wondered the California Teachers Association's Republican president, "are you going to ask me about Alice Huffman?"

It is impossible to talk about the rise in prominence of the CTA without also, in the same breath, mentioning Huffman — the union's 56-year-old political director. Based in Sacramento, Huffman directs all aspects of CTA's political strategy, from educating and organizing local members to coordinating statewide initiative efforts.

"She is *the* major force behind CTA's political clout," says Common Cause's Ruth Holton. "She is a very important behind-the-scenes political figure here in California."

Huffman says she didn't seek a career in politics, but rather "politics came to me." A high school dropout, she went to work in 1966 on the campaign of Michigan Congressman Carl Stokes. Urged to move to California "to get a free education," Huffman says she was accepted at UC Berkeley and graduated in two years. She eventually ended up working for Jerry Brown as a deputy in the Parks and Recreation Department.

In 1980 Huffman was invited to join a group being formed by the new Assembly speaker, Willie Brown. The organization was the Black American Political Association of California. "BAPAC caught my fancy more than most of the Blacks working in [Jerry] Brown's administration at the time," says Huffman. "It just seemed to have such promise."

Huffman's ties with Speaker Brown through

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TO GATEKEEPER

Alice Huffman helps keep teachers in lawmaker's faces

BAPAC gave her the connections she needed to land a job as a lobbyist with the CTA in 1983. Within a year, she was running the government relations division, and not long after that, CTA's political action committee began showing up among the top campaign donors in the state.

Eventually, Huffman stopped lobbying and began focusing entirely on the political organization. She helped mobilize the coalition that passed Proposition 98 and directed the very successful off-year media campaign last year against Governor Pete Wilson's budget proposals. She also built a "continuing education" program in politics for rank-and-file teachers.

"The biggest thing they do is the Political Action Institute," says Lynne Faulks, president of the Mount Diablo Education Association. "It empowers teachers to go back home, be politically active and make a difference."

As a tough, no-nonsense operative, Huffman has few peers in Sacramento. "If you're thin-skinned, you don't belong in this business," she says. "There's no way you can work in politics and not acquire enemies." However, her skill and tenacity have also won her fierce loyalty among her CTA colleagues. "She was my only ally at one time on Proposition 98," recalls former CTA President Ed Foglia. "I have a lot of respect for her."

"She's a jewel," gushes Weber.

Perhaps Huffman's closest political association — and her most controversial — is with Willie Brown. Critics of the union charge that Huffman is a conduit through which the speaker distributes campaign money to Democrats.

"[CTA] is a partisan arm of Willie Brown, and that's because of the connection between Willie and Alice," says Maureen DiMarco, Wilson's secretary of Child Development and Education and herself a Democrat.

Lately, these criticisms have been fueled by Huffman's personal crusade to push Brown as a candidate for governor. The effort, which involves gathering petition signatures on Brown's behalf, became immediate fodder for political reporters, and the reaction caught both Huffman and her superiors by surprise.

"All of us were caught up short by the realization that, in today's CTA, you don't have a private life," says Weber, who maintains the Brown campaign has no connection — official or unofficial — with the union.

Huffman insists her campaign for Brown has both a substantive and symbolic value. "No African-American name ever floats for constitutional office," she says. "Willie Brown is the most qualified of all the names floating around. Why not give him a chance?"

As for the broader criticisms of her alliance with Brown, Huffman dismisses them as sour grapes. "They [Republican business interests] used to have a monopoly, but now we're at the table, too. And we have something else they don't — a teacher in every legislative district."

— Steve Scott

Complaints about the political sway held by the teachers unions are nothing new — they've been uttered ever since the California Teachers Association formed in 1865.

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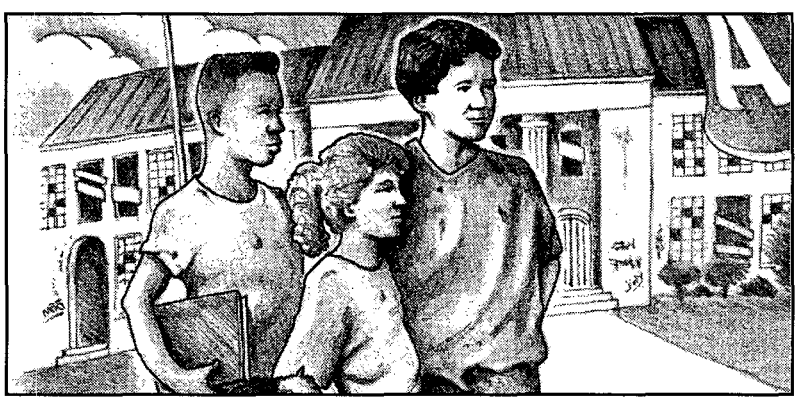
bargaining.

At the time, most of CTA's energies were spent competing for members with its arch-rival — the 75,000-member California Federation of Teachers. But in 1978 the battle for bargaining rights quickly took a back seat to a more immediate, common threat — passage of the property tax-slashing Proposition 13. Although it had formed a political action committee, CTA's scattered and disorganized operation was no match for the initiative's juggernaut, according to Ed Foglia, who in 1978 was beginning the first of two terms as CTA president.

"We came to understand," says Foglia, "that politics is not just a publicity campaign. Politics is door-to-door — the kinds of things that you have to do in order to win elections."

Foglia says he helped develop a "Blueprint for Political Action," — a centralized system of data retrieval, voter registration, absentee canvassing and extensive member education. The political organization tightened and a statewide lobbying and campaign infrastructure began to take shape. That process was hastened in 1983 with the arrival of Alice Huffman as director of government relations. Huffman, an ally of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, says she "politicized" the organization, helping it to better use its power to influence policy. "I had to teach them that they could do the right thing *and* be successful," says Huffman.



We came to understand that politics is not just a publicity campaign. Politics is door-to-door.
— Ed Foglia

With it's campaign apparatus firmly in place, and a $5 per year assessment on each member's dues for political action, CTA began creeping up the list of heavyweight donors to legislative races, from fifth place in 1985-86 to fourth in 1987-88. In 1989-90 the California Teachers Association's PAC was the Number One legislative campaign donor, giving more than $1 million. In 1991-92 it was in a virtual tie for second with the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, giving just under $900,000.

While contributions at this level automatically make CTA a player, most inside and outside the union mark the turning point in its power and influence to 1988 and the campaign for Proposition 98. The initiative, which guaranteed that schools receive at least 40 percent of the state's general fund budget, was a pent-up response to the erosion in school funding that started with Proposition 13 and continued through George Deukmejian's tenure as governor (1983-90). CTA spent millions to qualify and campaign for Proposition 98, and benefited from the support of state schools chief Bill Honig, then one of the state's more popular political figures.

When Proposition 98 eked out its narrow victory, schools — and the CTA — found themselves in a unique position. After a decade fighting for funds with the rest of the budget "have-nots," schools were now seen as the biggest "haves" of them all. Almost immediately, they were in court, battling a coalition of children's advocates over whether on-campus health, nutrition, welfare and immunization services would be counted under the 40 percent guarantee.

"Before 98 passed, they went out and asked child-development groups to join them," says Steve Barrow with the Children's Advocacy Institute. "After 98 passed, they sued to remove the child-development programs from underneath Prop 98 protections, putting about $300 million of programs for the most high-risk kids at risk." Ultimately, the state Supreme Court ruled against CTA, and added the programs to the guarantee.

If CTA's relationship with other public advocacy groups is occasionally cool, its relationship with the state's Republican governor is openly hostile. Responding to the pressures of back-to-back budget chasms, Governor Pete Wilson proposed suspending Proposition 98. He also proposed that the age for kindergarten entry be delayed six months. CTA responded with an unprecedented, million-dollar, off-year ad campaign. "We felt it was better to let the public speak, rather than us," said Huffman. "If you have the public joining in, to us it offered more leverage."

The spot, which featured a tearful child being turned away from kindergarten, was heavy-handed but effective, and Wilson backed off the proposal, even though he insisted it was similar to a union-backed plan of a few years ago. The practical effect of the flap was that CTA became "Public Enemy Number One" within the Wilson administration.

"They told a big lie to tell a second big lie, to try to convince people that we had cut school funding," said Maureen DiMarco, Wilson's secretary of Child Development and Education.

CTA officials maintain their actions before and since the passage of Proposition 98 are motivated by a simple and basic instinct — survival. "It's politically popular in this state, right now, to put us in competition with welfare," says CTA President Del Weber. "We're not in competition with welfare. All we're saying is, 'Let's at least hold even with where we are now.'"

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The union also points out that it is far from alone in the fight to preserve school funding. Other education organizations, including those representing school boards, administrators and classified employees, have joined CTA and CFT in what's been dubbed "The Unusual Coalition."

"The relationship is very professional," says Davis Campbell, executive director of the California School Boards Association. "There's a real committment to try and stay together as much as possible around that single issue [school funding]."

While the perception of unity among education groups is important, it is CTA's political operation that really gets the job done for teachers. In addition to its deep contribution pockets, the union has one of the most sophisticated grassroots operations going. Union locals can be mobilized on short notice to man phone banks, walk precincts or host news conferences.

"What makes CTA strong is 'people power,'" says Huffman. "Legislators know that, when they go home, it's teachers they'll be talking to."

According to political consultant Steve Hopcraft, "CTA has the top political operation in the state."

Most of the politicians who benefit from this strong operation are Democrats. "The joke in our caucus is that they're a leisure time subsidiary of the Democratic Party," says Glendale Republican Assemblyman Pat Nolan. "If you deviate from their orthodoxy, they have a tremendous amount of money to pour into your district and tell the voters that you hate children."

The numbers tell the story. Only three Republican Senate candidates running in 1992 got money from CTA. In the 80 Assembly races, only eight GOP candidates received money from CTA. And only one Republican — Assemblywoman Doris Allen — got the union's self-imposed maximum of $15,000. All told, more than 90 percent of all the money CTA gave last year went to Democrats.

CTA officials counter the charge of partisanship by pointing to their president, Del Weber, who is a Republican from Orange County. Weber says Republican candidates for office get a fair hearing, but he admits to a substantial philosophical divergence between the union and the GOP.

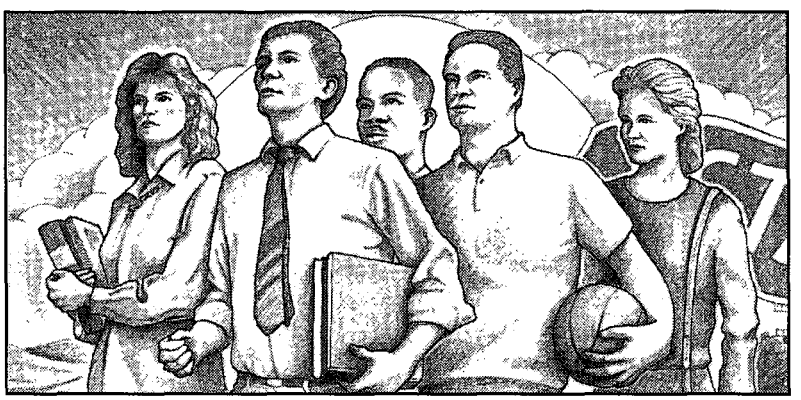
"When you look at the platforms of the two parties," says Weber, "the Democrats tend to vote for things which are better for public education, and they tend to get our endorsements. The Republicans tend not to [vote for public education], and so they tend not to get our endorsements." Huffman adds another point of departure: The GOP's distain for unions. "Ninety percent of the Republicans we interview have a problem with collective bargaining," she says.

The above responses from Weber and Huffman point to the central paradox of the CTA, one that shades its relations not just with the Legislature but with the rest of the education community. On one hand, it is an advocacy organization, seen by many in the public to be fighting the good fight for kids in the classroom. On the other, it is a union, with a clearly defined mandate to represent the interests of teachers. Clearly, CTA benefits from its image as a selfless advocate for education, but where does one role end and the other begin?

Clearly, CTA benefits from its image as a selfless advocate for education.

For CTA and its supporters, there is no conflict — what's good for teachers is good for schools. "They are a special-interest group, but every group sees its interests as `special,'" says Eastin. "Some of us see that when your special interest is children and education, you're more on the side of the angels."

Mary Bergan, president of the rival California Federation of Teachers, vehemently rejects the suggestion that a union identity precludes doing well by students. "I think there are people who would like to think so," says Bergan, "but I don't think that's the case."



To its political adversaries, however, CTA is no less narrow in its focus than doctors, lawyers, insurance companies and all the other "black hat" lobbying interests in Sacramento. "Teachers' salaries are important, but not when you don't have immunization; when you don't have health care; when you don't have basic nutrition," says Barrow of the Children's Advocacy Institute. "They're so protective of their tribe that they've lost sight of the impact [their actions] have on kids."

DiMarco, herself a Democrat, puts it more bluntly: "They're a labor organization, and should not be mistaken for an educational organization."

The one area where supporters and opponents agree is that, ultimately, CTA's success as an institution will be measured not by how many legislators it gets elected, but by the contribution it makes to improving the environment in schools.

"CTA is going to have to have an impact on the workplace," observes Foglia. "Teachers will say [to the union], 'If you're so successful in other areas, how about on a day-to-day basis?' CTA is going to have to continue to evolve in that direction, or else they could very well go down the way other unions have."

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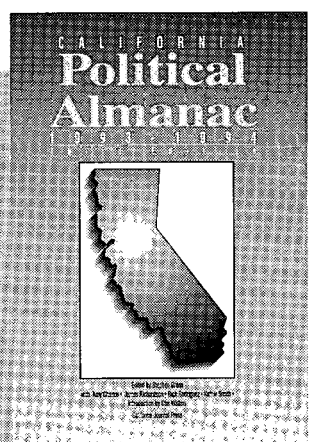

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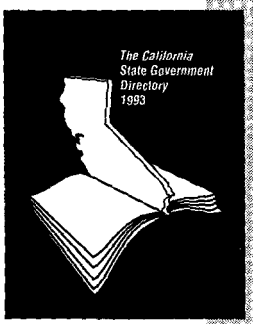

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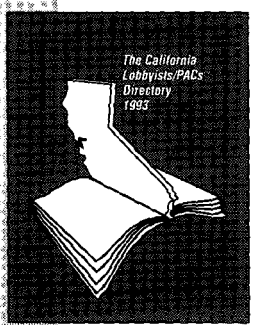

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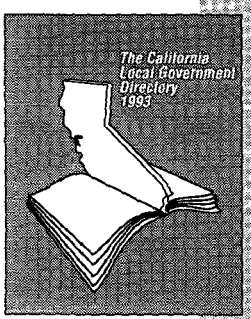

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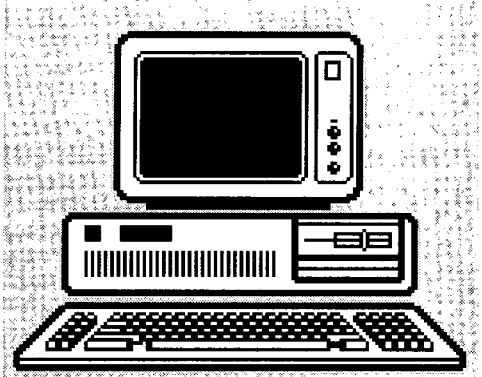

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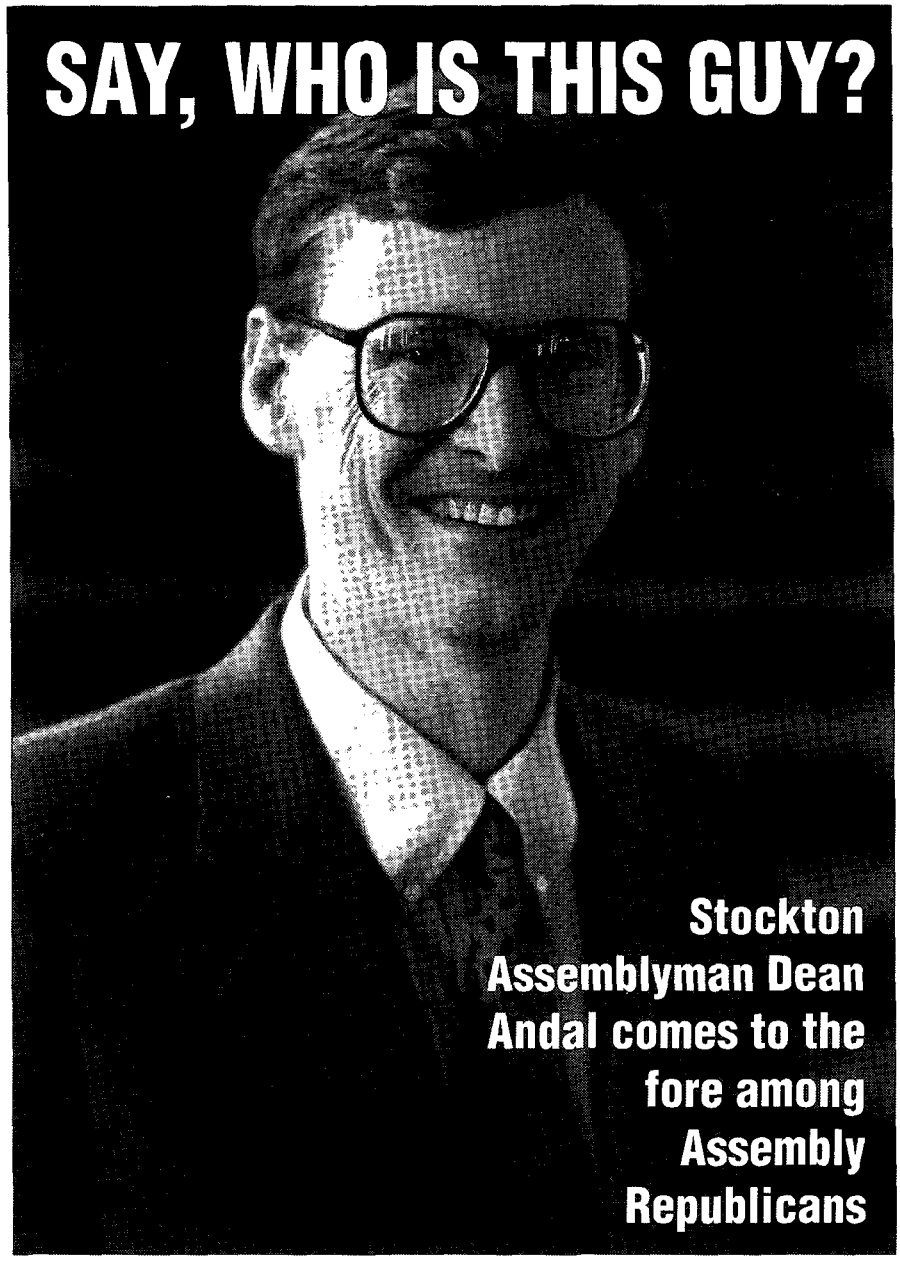

Stockton Assemblyman Dean Andal comes to the fore among Assembly Republicans

By Danielle Starkey

On the eve of the 1992 elections, Republican Dean Andal of Stockton was poised to become minority leader of the California Assembly. He had lined up all the votes necessary to grab ...

Wait a minute.

Dean ... who?

Well, the basics: Andal is a 33-year-old marketing consultant-turned-politician. He also is a conservative, a graduate of UC San Diego, a family man. Physically, the lanky Andal looks as though he might be blown away by a stiff Delta breeze. But looks are deceiving. It might take a tornado to rip Andal out of his district, for he is something of a political whiz kid who shot up out of Central Valley Republican politics to twice capture a seat that by all rights ought to belong to a Democrat. And just before the '92 election, Andal did indeed have the votes necessary to succeed veteran lawmaker Bill Jones as Assembly minority leader — despite the fact that Andal had served less than one full term in the Assembly. (He first won his seat in a special election midway through 1991.)

Andal, however, is not minority leader. You see, he lost to Democrat Michael Machado

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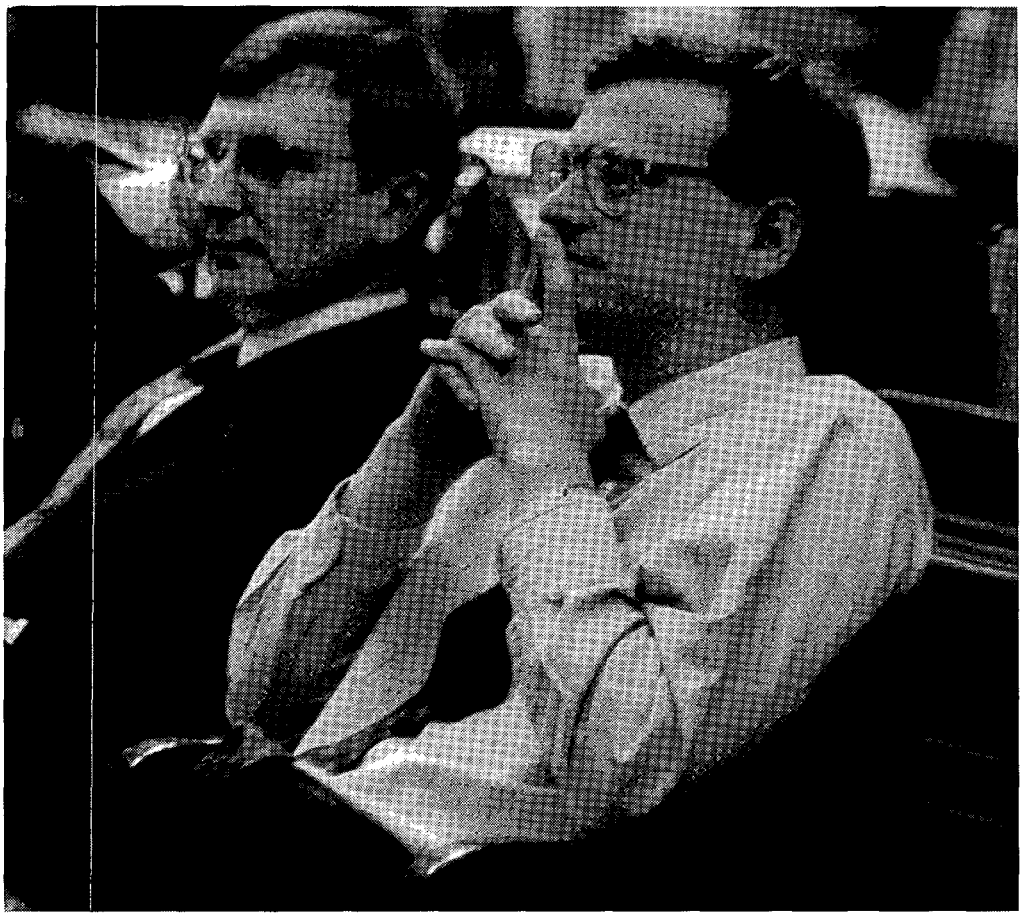

Bill Baker and Dean Andal by Rich Pedroncelli

on Election Day '92. It took several days — and the counting of absentee ballots — before Andal snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. By then, the carousel had whirled him past the brass ring. His caucus did not, or would not, wait for the final returns, and it selected Ontario's Jim Brulte as minority leader instead. But the fact that Andal's meteoric rise through the ranks hit a snag on Election Day doesn't diminish another fact — that he has become one of the Capitol's more intriguing characters.

Why Dean Andal?

Part of his rise is due to the fact that he got elected to the Assembly in the first place. He first ran for the job in 1991, at the tail end of two special elections set in motion when Democrat John Garamendi resigned from the state Senate in anticipation of being elected insurance commissioner in November 1990. Garamendi tried to time his resignation to benefit his wife, Patti, who wanted his seat, but the maneuver backfired. Patti lost a bitter election to Democratic Assemblyman Pat Johnston, whose victory caused another special election. Undeterred by one defeat, Patti Garamendi also ran for Johnston's seat.

Enter Andal. A former aide to GOP Congressman Norm Shumway, Andal decided to run against Garamendi, who had been weakened as a candidate by Johnston's campaign. Although district registration favored Democrats 56 percent to 35 percent, Andal captured 58 percent of the vote to beat Garamendi.

Then came 1992, and Andal didn't have Patti Garamendi (who was still running, this time for Congress) to kick around; he had the Democrats' hand-picked candidate: area farmer Michael Machado. And this time, the newly reapportioned district was even worse for a Republican (56 percent Democratic, only 34 percent GOP). The race itself was harrowing. President George Bush was studiously ignoring California, choosing to campaign elsewhere and cutting his fellow Republican candidates loose. At the close of Election Day, Machado had more votes, but Andal eked out a 1 percent win once absentee ballots were counted.

Even before his tangle with Machado, the victory over Garamendi had given Andal a reputation for fashioning electoral miracles that bordered on the mythological. And it was this attractive quality, coupled with his intelligence, that prompted a group of veteran conservative lawmakers to consider him for minority leader. Conservatives wanted to recapture control of caucus leadership from moderates, led by then-Minority Leader Jones. But they also knew one of their coterie would have trouble engineering the top job for himself. Still, they wanted a conservative to have it and, as last summer's budget debacle deepened, they began focusing on Andal as a successor.

Andal won't name all the legislators who asked him to be minority leader, but he says Brulte was one of them. The minority leader serves as the party's chief spokesperson and organizer in the Assembly and is expected to play a lead role in negotiating with the party in power. The other major task is to get more Republicans elected.

Andal says he didn't want the job. At first. "I told them to take a hike," Andal recalls. "I had a huge campaign in front of me, as well as the budget votes we were taking at the time."

Losing on Election Day may have meant a lot of things to Andal, but in particular it meant losing the minority leader's job, since that post traditionally is chosen only hours after the polls close. Rather than give the job to Andal, who might not get re-elected, the caucus chose Brulte.

"I wasn't aggressively seeking the job," Andal says now. "And [although] I have a certain amount of ambition, I don't think minority leader is such a plum. It's difficult work, and you have few resources at your disposal. You're expected to lead, but you have no tools to do it with. The minority leader has about a $1 million policy staff budget; contrast that with the $30 million [Democratic Speaker] Willie Brown has."

But Andal says there were several reasons that his GOP colleagues convinced him he was right for the post. He could be a "consensus candidate," since he could act as a "bridge" between the 13 newcomers and the veteran legislators. And he was more qualified than anyone to help elect Republi-

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cans, since he himself had won in a Democratic district. "Being the miracle baby that survived gave me the credentials," he says. "If you look at the people who won in my caucus, most had secure districts."

But as GOP state Senator Cathie Wright, a former Assembly member who last year was vice chair of Ways and Means, reviews events, "[Andal's] a hard-nosed conservative and there were enough hard-nosed conservatives in the caucus who knew they wouldn't get [the leader's job]."

Andal's life didn't end the day minority leader went to Brulte, for Andal says the job he really wanted was to succeed Wright as vice chair of Ways and Means. To that end, he says, Brulte asked Brown to name him to the post. In recent years, the speaker usually ratified the minority leader's choice. But Brown skipped over Andal, and, reportedly was turned down by four Republicans before West Covina's Paul Horcher took the post. Horcher's agreement set off a firestorm inside the GOP caucus because, according to several sources, Republicans had a deal among themselves that only Andal would accept the job.

Why didn't Brown select Andal? Some observers speculate that the speaker was less than pleased with Andal's behavior during last summer's delay in passing a state budget. Andal repeatedly savaged Brown and other legislative leaders for their lack of progress in fashioning a budget compromise. And he did it publicly, during floor debates. Others say Democrats will target Andal for defeat in 1994, and the speaker and his minions may have wondered how they could effectively campaign against someone the speaker himself had named to the number-two post on the Assembly's number-one committee. Andal himself seems to agree with this logic.

And then, there's the Horcher factor. According to some observers, Horcher was the perfect choice if Brown wanted to create sweet havoc among Republicans. Horcher, you see, once campaigned for Brulte's primary opponent. Horcher himself holds to this notion. Brulte, however, dismisses it out of hand, saying that, as far as he's concerned, Horcher's only sin was accepting the Ways and Means post.

Wright said Brulte used the wrong strategy to get Andal on Ways and Means, if in fact he really wanted him to have it. "When [former Minority Leader] Bill Jones selected me, he went to Willie, and Willie announced it," says Wright. "On the other hand, when Brulte announced Andal, Willie was out of the [state]." Wright also agrees that Andal didn't get the job because, "Why would he give the vice chair of a juice committee to someone he's tried twice to get out" of office?

Nevertheless, Andal, once jilted, displayed a tough and unforgiving attitude toward Horcher. His enmity for his GOP colleague runs deep and is cast in personal terms. "He should've [turned down the job] as others did, with far more background experience than him." Like those others, Horcher should have turned it down "for the good of the whole."

"The [legislative] process only works if we're participating," Andal explains, "and the only way we can participate is if we have the resources grouped around a leader. [Horcher] had shown no interest in budget issues in the past." Worse than that, grouses Andal, he's been among the first to vote for Democrats' bills.

Horcher, of course, sees it differently: "If I had rejected the position," he says, "it was strongly rumored it would've gone to [Democrat] Steve Peace, along with all the Ways and Means staff."

So what, retorts Andal? "Steve Peace knows more about the budget than he [Horcher] does."

"It's difficult to work with someone who doesn't know what he believes in," Andal continues. "I can work with liberal Democrats when I know what they're after [but] it's difficult to work with someone who you don't know what he believes in. If someone's not motivated by philosophy or any beliefs, except moving ahead in the political process, I have no common ground with them." Horcher, after all, had flirted with the idea of switching party allegiances earlier this year but finally announced that he was a "mainstream Republican,"

Andal, too, pooh-poohs the notion that Brown named Horcher to Ways and Means to needle Brulte. "Willie Brown was beside himself that I won against his candidate. I'd been a critic of Willie Brown, and even more so of [Democratic Assemblyman] John Vasconcellos," who is chair of Ways and Means, says Andal. "And, I'm top on [the Democrats'] hit parade for next time, and they don't want to give me an influential post."

Brulte, meanwhile, is trying his best to squeeze Andal into the picture. Although Horcher is vice chairman of Ways and Means, Brulte has named Andal as the caucus' lead on all things budget — this despite the fact that Andal doesn't even sit on Ways and Means. Brulte plans to funnel caucus input on Ways and Means through Assemblyman Pat Nolan, bypassing Horcher completely. No one knows how this three-headed GOP animal will function once the budget deliberations heat up later this month.

So, while Andal cools his heels on Transportation and

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Public Employees, Retirement and Social Security, he knows he's got to prepare for yet another tough election challenge. He'll have help. With three prisons and more than 5000 correctional peace officers living in his district [their union contributed $45,000 to his last campaign], Andal's already looking out for their interests. He's introduced a bill banning conjugal visits, backed by the prison guards.

Andal also says he's a "term-limits zealot," and that he supported the budget cuts mandated by Proposition 140. (He said he gave back 18 percent of his own office budget last year.) "Maybe it's because of my relative youth, but I don't value experience as much as everyone else," Andal says. "It's arrogant to stand up in front of 400,000 people [the approximate number in an Assembly district] and say, 'I can represent you better than anybody else.' A thousand people could do better, but they never run because they'd have to run against an incumbent."

Andal's colleagues in the Legislature say he is one of its most intelligent members, but they have advice for him. "I think Dean Andal is a very, very bright, and very talented legislator," said former GOP Assemblywoman Bev Hansen, a moderate Republican who retired last year. "But he needs to stop being so hard-core, because he's really very capable. He's got a high sincerity quotient."

"If someone's not motivated by philosophy or any beliefs, except moving ahead in the political process, I have no common ground with them."

—Assemblyman Dean Andal

"He's got the quick mind of Bill Baker, but not his quick tongue," notes Pat Nolan. Nolan was referring to former Assemblyman Baker, now a member of Congress. Baker, who served in the Assembly for a decade before moving on to Congress, generally was regarded as the brightest and most capable member of the GOP caucus. During his first year, Andal was considered Baker's protege.

Democratic Assemblyman Phil Isenberg also says Andal is sharp, but adds that he needs to relax. "I like Dean," he says. "I find him smart, intelligent and friendly. But I told him, 'Loosen up, Dean! Be yourself, take some risks.'"

Perhaps Andal is trying to lighten up: One of the few photographs hanging in his Capitol office is of him greeting President Bush. Behind them in the picture is none other than Paul Horcher, who is greeting Barbara Bush.

Andal thinks it's funny that he's got a picture of Horcher on his wall.

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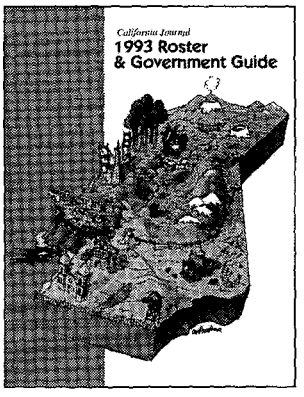

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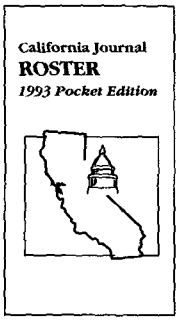

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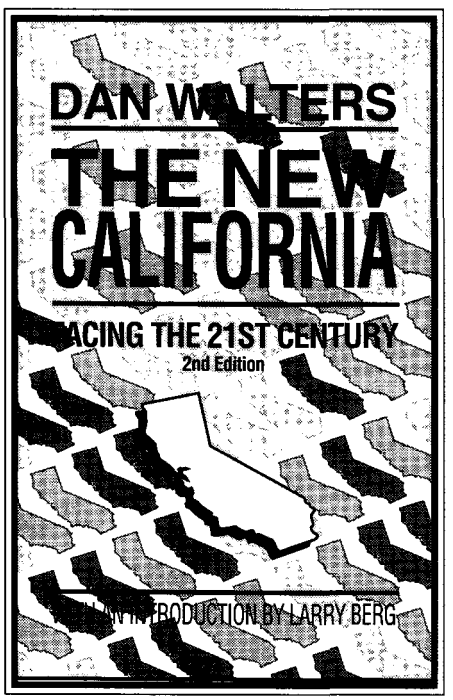

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Congress, Clinton and California

Surely there are many mornings when Pete Wilson wakes up in Sacramento, the deeply unpopular governor of a deeply troubled state, and wishes he were back making speeches on the floor of the United States Senate. But it wouldn't have been so easy to be Senator Pete last month, as Republicans in the Senate stalled and chipped away at President Clinton's $16 billion economic stimulus package.

SHORTLY BEFORE CONGRESS' SPRING VACATION, all 43 Republicans in the Senate signed an oath to stick together in an attempt to stop the hodgepodge of federal spending that Democrat Clinton offered as the short-term spending portion of his new administration's deficit-cutting/tax-increasing/"investment"-spending package. Clinton had won the presidency as a hybrid "new Democrat," but the stimulus package was the element of his economic program that made him most vulnerable to Republican attack as an old-fashioned Democrat of the "tax-and-spend" variety. The Republicans pored over a wish-list of stimulus projects proposed by big-city mayors and found plans for new municipal swimming pools and other arguably extravagant pork-barrel spending.

As a senator, Wilson had been relatively moderate on some issues. But even the Senate's most moderate Republicans joined their hard-line conservative colleagues in the united front to resist the Clinton plan through the Senate's time-honored (and time-consuming) practice of the filibuster.

In fact, the Republican moderates were especially peeved with Clinton because the fledgling president had the hubris to ignore them in the days leading up to Senate debate on the measure. He failed to court their votes or even to float the notion of a compromise, mistakenly believing that Democrats could pass his package on their own. That ignored the fundamental fact that there aren't enough Senate Democrats to muster the 60 votes needed to end a filibuster.

Had Wilson remained a senator instead of running for governor two years ago, he would have had little choice but to join loyally in the Republican resistance to Clinton's spending. But that would have set him up for devastating criticism in California, where partisan and philosophical discussions about the wisdom of new federal spending pale before the desperate need for economic assistance of any sort. Instead, California's representatives in the Senate are two loyal Democrats. Both rose in the Senate debate on April 2nd to emphasize the special need for economic stimulus in the recession-mired largest state.

There were other economic messages from Washington to California in recent weeks:

• Clinton's budget for fiscal 1994 came through by proposing nearly $900 million to compensate for the burden of caring for immigrants and refugees. The biggest chunk would be $519 million in State Legalization Impact Assistance Grant (SLIAG) funding, compared to $197 million California is getting in that program this year.

As noted previously in this space, Wilson had demanded $1.4 billion for immigrants and refugees to help plug the gaping holes in his state budget. Feinstein had already warned that Wilson's claim was "overstated," and after some initial confusion — sparked by an erroneous *Los Angeles Times* report that Clinton was only offering $649 million — Californians of both parties decided to claim at least a preliminary victory.

Now that Clinton has proposed the funding, Congress' appropriations committees will dispose of the request. And Feinstein will be on the line to deliver as the most junior member of the Senate Finance Committee under prickly Chairman Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia.

• The administration named Commerce Secretary Ron Brown as its special liaison to assist in resuscitating the California economy. The gesture was doubly adept because Brown, as the administration's highest-ranking Black, was in position to respond to the verdict in the second trial of the Los Angeles police who beat Rodney King.

Brown's initial moves were decidedly modest — visiting the state and arguing that the administration's budget and stimulus package "would be very helpful to Los Angeles." But he promised to stay in touch. "California has been facing significant devastation because of economic stagnation and the recession that we've been in. That has been exacerbated by base closings and other economics downturns that really affect the entire state," Brown said on CNN. "And so the president has asked me to try to provide some leadership from the federal level to pull together resources, to pull together people so that we can have a coordinated response."

• What Les Aspin gave, the base-closing commission took back. As noted in this space last month, Defense Secretary Les Aspin let off the hook several California bases that the armed services chiefs had proposed to scrap. But the base-closing commission that has the authority to expand or shrink his list put two of them — McClellan Air Force Base near Sacramento and the Monterey Presidio — right back on the chopping block.

"WE'RE NOT ANYBODY'S RUBBER STAMP," boasted commission chairman James Courter, whose panel has until July 1st to make its final recommendations to Clinton. Now Californians must lobby the eight-member independent commission with the pitch that Aspin bought — that the state would face an unfair "cumulative" economic impact from the effects of the past and current rounds of base closures.

On the other hand, the commission held out at least a ray of hope for another California base, the San Diego naval training center. Aspin had endorsed the Navy's plan to close its training centers in San Diego and Orlando, Fla. But the base closing commission voted to add to its hit list the Great Lakes naval training center in Illinois. The commissioners figured they'd want their own chance to review which of the three training facilities to keep if the shrinking Navy needs only one.

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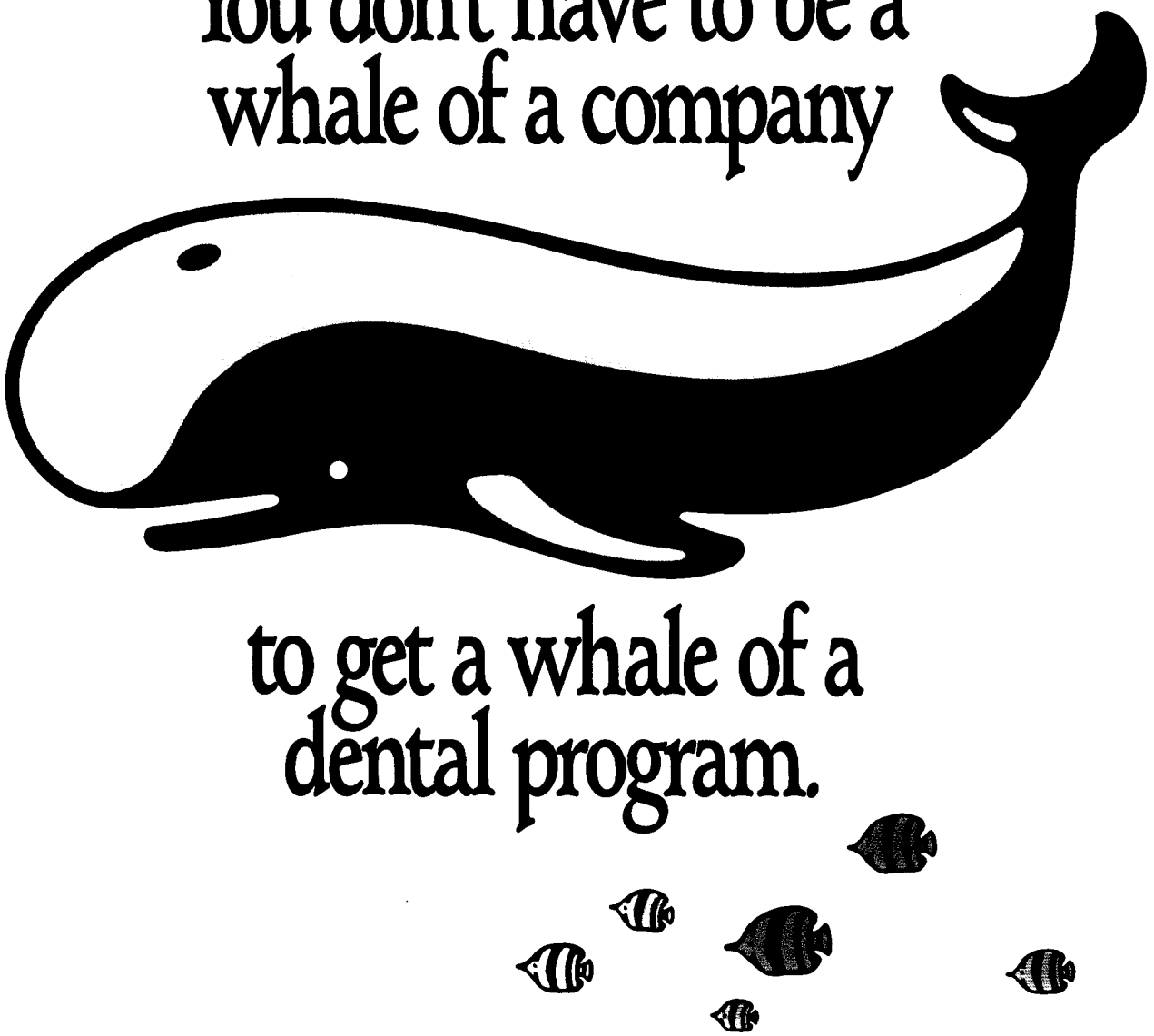

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